1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

127 writers, and this is particularly true of that part of the work dealing with customs like war which are now obsolete or obsolescent but could be made subjects of direct observation at the time in which they wrote. I have also made liberal use of the material published in recent years by Prof. Frank G. Speck, of the University of Pennsylvania, particularly his paper on "The Creek Indians of Taskigi Town" (Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, vol. II, pt. 2). His more extensive work on the Yuchi has been mentioned only incidentally, as the Yuchi are an alien tribe incorporated into the Creek Confederacy in comparatively modern times. Their culture, however, presents numerous features resembling that found among the Creeks, and Professor Speck's paper (Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians, Anthropological Publications of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, vol. I, no. 1) should be read in conjunction with the material here presented. The valuable and hitherto unpublished Hitchcock material was placed at the disposal of the Bureau of Ethnology through the kindness of Mrs. W. A. Croffut, General Hitchcock's niece.

194 The following peculiar phonetic signs are used: ł, unvoiced l; ȧ, obscure a; tc, English ch; c, English sh; ⁿ, nasalization of the preceding vowel; x and ɣ (in Natchez), palatal and velar spirants; vowels generally have continental values.

NATIVE LEGENDS DEALING WITH CREEK HISTORY

Origin Legends

173 The origin myths of the Hitchiti and Alabama, minor components of the Creek Nation, have been given in Bulletin 73.[1] Here it is proposed to include the origin myths of the dominant tribe, that which constituted by far the largest portion numerically and from which came the crystallizing force which united them all into one political body. Who the Muskogee were and what towns they occupied has been explained in the bulletin above mentioned. The origin legend, or the origin legends, of these people differed to some extent in the several Muskogee towns, but there was a harmony between the various versions, perhaps brought on pari passu with the progressive unification of the confederacy. There are many references to this legend in very general terms, but several stories have survived, which, though usually fragmentary, shed most valuable light upon the nature of the original. The earliest of these legends is that given to Governor Oglethorpe by one Chekilli,[2] who is styled "emperor of the Upper and Lower Creeks," and was probably a Kasihta. At any rate the legend seems to be from Kasihta sources. According
173 to the American Gazetteer, as quoted by Gatschet, "This speech
212 was curiously written in red and black characters, on the skin of a

[1] Swanton, Early Hist. Creek Inds., Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 173-174, 191-192.
[2] Perhaps from Tcalaki ilitci, "Cherokee killer."

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

•173 212

young buffalo, and translated into English, as soon as delivered. . . . The said skin was set in a frame, and hung up in the Georgia Office, in Westminster."[3] Of course this means that pictures had been made on the blanket similar to those in the Delaware Walam Olum, to mark the various important events narrated by the speaker. It has unfortunately been lost, along with the accompanying English text, but a German translation of the English was preserved, and from this Doctor Gatschet had the legend rendered again into English and also into Creek for his "Migration Legend of the Creek Indians." This version, including one or two corrections made by Doctor Gatschet in one of his personal copies of the work, is as follows:

173 539

"WHAT CHEKILLI, THE HEAD-CHIEF OF THE UPPER AND LOWER CREEKS SAID, IN A TALK HELD AT SAVANNAH, ANNO 1735, AND WHICH WAS HANDED OVER BY THE INTERPRETER, WRITTEN UPON A BUFFALO-SKIN WAS, WORD FOR WORD, AS FOLLOWS:

"[Speech, which, in the year 1735, was delivered at Savannah, in Georgia, by][4] Chekilli, Emperor of the Upper and Lower Creeks; Antiche, highest Chief of the town of the Cowetas, Eliche, King; Ousta, Head-chief of the Cussitaws, Tomechaw, War King; Wali, War-captain of the Palachucolas, Poepiche, King; Tomehuichi, Dog-king of the Euchitaws; Mittakawye, Head War-chief of the Okonees, Tuwechiche, King; Whoyauni, Head War-chief of the Chehaws and of the Hokmulge Nation; Stimelacoweche, King of the Osoches; Opithli, King of the Jawocolos [Sawokli]; Ewenauki, King; Tahmokmi, War-captain of the Eufantees [misprint for Eufaulees?]; and thirty other Warriors.[5]

"At a certain time the Earth opened in the West, where its mouth is. The Earth opened and the Cussitaws came out of its mouth, and settled near by. But the Earth became angry and ate up their children; therefore, they moved further West. A part of them, however, turned back, and came again to the same place where they had been, and settled there. The greater number remained behind, because they thought it best to do so. Their children, nevertheless, were eaten by the Earth, so that, full of dissatisfaction, they journeyed toward the sunrise.

"They came to a thick, muddy, slimy river—came there, camped there, rested there, and stayed over night there. The next day, they continued their journey and came, in one day, to a red, bloody river. They lived by this river, and ate of its fishes for two years;

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[3] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., vol. I, p. 226.

[4] This bracketing is copied from Gatschet.

[5] The following transliterations and translations of a part of these names were furnished by the late G. W. Grayson and A. S. Gatschet: Anstitci, to wound; Ilitci, to kill, or putting something down; Osta, four (?); Tomoica, (a number of creatures) flying; Wali, from wahali, south (though Gatschet suggests the name of the coast province of Georgia, Guale, see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 80 et seq.); Poepiica, to cause to win; Hoyahini, to pass by; Stimalakostci, somebody having caused something to come; Hopili, fog.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173 ● 539

but there were low springs there; and it did not please them to remain. They went toward the end of this bloody river, and heard a noise as of thunder. They approached to see whence the noise came. At first they perceived a red smoke, and then a mountain which thundered; and on the mountain was a sound as of singing. They sent to see what this was; and it was a great fire which blazed upward, and made this singing noise. This mountain they named the King of Mountains. It thunders to this day; and men are very much afraid of it.

"They here met a people of three different Nations. They had taken and saved some of the fire from the mountain; and, at this place, they also obtained a knowledge of herbs and of other things.

"From the East, a white fire came to them; which, however, they would not use. From Wahalle [the South] came a fire which was blue; neither did they use it. From the West, came a fire which was black; nor would they use it. At last, came a fire from the North, which was red and yellow. This they mingled with the fire they had taken from the mountain; and this is the fire they use to-day; and this, too, sometimes sings. On the mountain was a pole which was very restless and made a noise, nor could any one say how it could be quieted. At length they took a motherless child, and struck it against the pole; and thus killed the child. They then took the pole, and carry it with them when they go to war. It was like a wooden tomahawk, such as they now use, and of the same wood.

"Here they also found four herbs or roots, which sang and disclosed their virtues: First, *Pasaw* [pasa], the rattlesnake root; second, *Micowcanochaw* [miko hoyanidja], red-root; third, *Sowatchke* [sowatcko], which grows like wild fennel; and fourth, *Eschalapootchke* [hitci laputcki], little tobacco. These herbs, especially the first and third, they use as the best medicine to purify themselves at their Busk. At this Busk, which is held yearly, they fast, and make offerings of the first fruits. Since they have learned the virtues of these herbs, their women, at certain times, have a separate fire, and remain apart from the men five, six, and seven days, for the sake of purification. If they neglected this, the power of the herbs would depart; and the women would not be healthy.

"About this time a dispute arose, as to which was the oldest, and which should rule; and they agreed, as they were four Nations, they would set up four poles, and make them red with clay which is yellow at first, but becomes red by burning. They would then go to war; and whichever Nation should first cover its pole, from top to bottom, with the scalps of their enemies, should be the oldest.

"They all tried, but the Cussitaws covered their pole first, and so thickly that it was hidden from sight. Therefore, they were looked upon, by the whole Nation, as the oldest. The Chickasaws covered

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173
539

their pole next; then the Atilamas [Alabamas]; but the Obikaws [Abihkas] did not cover their pole higher than to the knee.

"At that time there was a bird of large size, blue in color, with a long tail, and swifter than an eagle, which came every day and killed and ate their people. They made an image in the shape of a woman, and placed it in the way of this bird. The bird carried it off, and kept it a long time, and then brought it back. They left it alone, hoping it would bring something forth. After a long time, a red rat came forth from it, and they believed the bird was the father of the rat. They took council with the rat how to destroy its father. Now the bird had a bow and arrows; and the rat gnawed the bowstring, so that the bird could not defend itself, and the people killed it. They called this bird the King of Birds. They think the eagle is also a great King; and they carry its feathers when they go to War or make Peace; the red mean War; the white, Peace. If an enemy approaches with white feathers and a white mouth, and cries like an eagle, they dare not kill him.

"After this they left that place, and came to a white footpath. The grass and everything around were white; and they plainly perceived that people had been there. They crossed the path, and slept near there. Afterward they turned back to see what sort of path that was, and who the people were who had been there, in the belief that it might be better for them to follow that path. They went along it to a creek called *Coloose-hutche*, that is, Coloose-creek, because it was rocky there and smoked.

"They crossed it, going toward the sunrise, and came to a people and a town named Coosaw. Here they remained four years. The Coosaws complained that they were preyed upon by a wild beast, which they called man-eater or lion, which lived in a rock.

"The Cussitaws said they would try to kill the beast. They digged a pit and stretched over it a net made of hickory-bark. They then laid a number of branches, crosswise, so that the lion could not follow them, and, going to the place where he lay, they threw a rattle into his den. The lion rushed forth in great anger, and pursued them through the branches. Then they thought it better that one should die rather than all; so they took a motherless child, and threw it before the lion as he came near the pit. The lion rushed at it, and fell in the pit, over which they threw the net, and killed him with blazing pine-wood. His bones, however, they keep to this day; on one side, they are red, on the other, blue.

"The lion used to come every seventh day to kill the people; therefore, they remained there seven days after they had killed him. In remembrance of him, when they prepare for War, they fast six days and start on the seventh. If they take his bones with them, they have good fortune.[6]

[6] This war medicine is also mentioned by Hawkins. See p. 420.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173 539

"After four years they left the Coosaws, and came to a river which they called *Nowphawpe*,[7] now *Callasi-hutche*.[8] There they tarried two years; and, as they had no corn, they lived on roots and fishes, and made bows, pointing the arrows with beaver teeth and flint-stones, and for knives they used split canes.

"They left this place, and came to a creek, called *Wattoola-hawka-hutche*,[9] Whooping-creek, so called from the whooping of cranes, a great many being there; they slept there one night. They next came to a river, in which there was a waterfall; this they named the *Owatunka-river*.[10] The next day they reached another river, which they called the *Aphoosa pheeskaw*.[11]

"The following day they crossed it, and came to a high mountain, where were people who, they believed, were the same who made the white path. They, therefore, made white arrows and shot at them, to see if they were good people. But the people took their white arrows, painted them red, and shot them back. When they showed these to their chief, he said that it was not a good sign; if the arrows returned had been white, they could have gone there and brought food for their children, but as they were red they must not go. Nevertheless, some of them went to see what sort of people they were; and found their houses deserted. They also saw a trail which led into the river; and, as they could not see the trail on the opposite bank, they believed that the people had gone into the river, and would not again come forth.

"At that place is a mountain, called *Moterell*, which makes a noise like beating on a drum; and they think this people live there. They hear this noise on all sides when they go to war.

"They went along the river, till they came to a waterfall, where they saw great rocks, and on the rocks were bows lying; and they believed the people who made the white path had been there.

"They always have, on their journeys, two scouts who go before the main body. These scouts ascended a high mountain and saw a town. They shot white arrows into the town; but the people of the town shot back red arrows. Then the Cussitaws became angry, and determined to attack the town, and each one have a house when it was captured.

"They threw stones into the river until they could cross it, and took the town (the people had flattened heads), and killed all but two persons. In pursuing these they found a white dog, which they slew. They followed the two who escaped, until they came again to the white path, and saw the smoke of a town, and thought that this

[7] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 345.
[8] A misprint for Tallasi-hutche.
[9] *Watula*, sandhill crane; *hobi*, sound, noise; *hatchee*, creek, river.
[10] Owatánka River.
[11] Cf. *aphawa*, thread; *fahtá*, to sprinkle, scatter out.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173 539 must be the people they had so long been seeking. This is the place where now the tribe of Palachucolas live, from whom Tomochichi is descended.[13]

"The Cussitaws continued bloody-minded; but the Palachucolas gave them black drink, as a sign of friendship, and said to them: 'Our hearts are white, and yours must be white, and you must lay down the bloody tomahawk, and show your bodies as a proof that they shall be white.' Nevertheless, they were for the tomahawk; but the Palachucolas got it by persuasion, and buried it under their beds. The Palachucolas likewise gave them white feathers, and asked to have a chief in common. Since then they have always lived together.

"Some settled on one side of the river, some on the other. Those on one side are called Cussetaws, those on the other, Cowetas; yet they are one people, and the principal towns of the Upper and Lower Creeks. Nevertheless, as the Cussetaws first saw the red smoke and the red fire, and make bloody towns, they cannot yet leave their red hearts, which are, however, white on one side and red on the other. They now know that the white path was the best for them: for, although Tomochichi was a stranger, they see he has done them good; because he went to see the great King with Esquire Oglethorpe, and hear his talk, and had related it to them, and they had listened to it, and believed it."[13]

173 Doctor Gatschet has already discussed the Kasihta line of migration as unfolded by Chekilli in the above narrative.[14] I will merely review it briefly. The muddy river spoken of early in the narrative might well have been the Mississippi, for "Muddy River" was a name given to it by the Creeks. If this is so, however, the red river which they afterwards reached could not have been the Red River of Louisiana. In later versions of the legend the origin of the Creeks is traced to the historical Red River, and perhaps this may be the result of an attempt to localize the red river of the Chekilli legend. The first place to which a name is given is "Coloose-hutche," but the interpretation contained in the text, "because it was rocky there and smoked," is not traceable to any known Muskhogean tongue. "Hutche" is of course the Creek hàtci, "river," but the balance of the word has a striking resemblance to a common abbreviation of the Choctaw Oka lusa, "Black Water." For this reason Brinton has suggested that the name referred to the Black Warrior River of western Alabama, though the Black Creek of Walker and Winston Counties, a tributary of the Black Warrior, would correspond more

[13] Tomochichi was chief of the Yamacraw tribe, settled where Savannah now stands when Oglethorpe established his colony. See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 108-109.

[14] Gatschet in Trans. St. Louis Acad. Sci., vol. v, pp. 41-51. An earlier translation had appeared in Brinton's Lib. Aborig. Lit., vol. IV, pp. 244-251.

[13] Trans. St. Louis Acad. Sci., vol. v, pp. 98-103.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

closely provided the former name has an Indian origin. With this name should probably be correlated that of the "Caluça" tribe mentioned by Ranjel. Biedma and Elvas speak of a Caluç or Caluça province, but this was west of the Mississippi and evidently had nothing to do with the one to which Ranjel refers, though the chroniclers themselves may have confused the two. The latter was in the neighborhood of the Chickasaw, and the Chickasaw chief gave the Spaniards guides to take them thither. It was said to be "a place of much repute among the Indians," and was described as "a province of more than 90 villages not subject to any one, with a savage population, very warlike and much dreaded, and the soil is fertile in that section." Unfortunately we have no intimation as to the direction in which it lay with reference to the Chickasaw. I believe that the tribe mentioned in these terms was identical with a comparatively insignificant body of Indians of the same name found by the French Louisiana colonists of 1699 and after, westward of the lower Mississippi and described by Du Pratz.[15] They were associated with the Houma Indians, who were a branch of the Chakchiuma, Ranjel's Sacchuma.[16] Both were in the same general region in De Soto's time.

1730

The next point reached by the Kasihta was "Coosaw," evidently the old Coosa town on the river which still bears its name, between Talladega and Tallahassee Hatchee creeks. Afterwards they came to a river called "Nawphawpe, now called Callasi-hutchee." Gatschet rightly identifies this with a creek known as Naufawpi which runs into Uphapee Creek, an eastern affluent of the Tallapoosa, but he fails to notice that "Callasi-hutchee" is evidently a misreading of "Tallasi-hutchee" ("Tulsa Creek"), this region having been occupied by the Tulsa Indians. "Wattoola-hawka-hutche," "Whooping Creek," is a small northern affluent of Big Uchee; a larger one farther east is still called Wetumpka; and "Aphoosa pheeskaw" must have been a small creek between Wetumpka Creek and the Chattahoochee. The next river encountered, although unnamed, was evidently the Chattahoochee itself, and the Creeks followed this down to the falls at Columbus. Near the latter place they are supposed to have crossed and destroyed a town occupied by people who flattened their heads. Afterwards they went on down to the place below the falls where the Apalachicola were living in the year in which this speech was delivered, 1735, and they made peace and formed an alliance with the Apalachicola tribe.

The astonishing thing about this entire narrative is the closeness with which the movement can be followed. As we know positively that the Kasihta had then been in the country over 200 years we must either suppose that the line of migration had been relocalized by later

[15] See Swanton, Ind. Tribes of Lower Miss. Valley, Bull. 43, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 302 and 305.
[16] Ranjel in Bourne's Narr. of De Soto, vol. II, p. 122.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173 story tellers or that the Creeks were able to record historical events in some relatively permanent manner. The first would at the outset appear the more probable explanation, but we know from several [211] sources that these tribes had mnemonic devices similar to quipus, and it is therefore possible that the movement took place along the line laid out. Certainly this earliest narrative localizes much more closely than any of the legends recorded later. Gatschet missed much of its value by thinking of the Kasihta and Coweta as two among 40 [101] or 50 coordinate bodies, while in fact Kasihta and Coweta represented, in early times, the entire Muskogee element among the Lower Creeks, and the Abihka and Coosa the bodies of Muskogee from which most of the Upper Creeks originated.[17] This legend therefore involves the origin of the greater part of the Muskogee people.

Adair speaks several times of Indian traditions of a western origin, but usually he has in mind the Chickasaw. However, he says in one place that the Muskogee "believe their original predecessors came from the west, and resided under ground," [18] and by "predecessors" here he evidently intends ancestors.

173 534 Another long version of the legend is contained in a work by Gen. Milfort,[19] who claims to have lived among the Creeks from 1776 to 1796, and to have been made "tastanégy ou grand Chef de guerre de la nation Crëck."[20] We know that there was no such position as "grand war chief of the Creek nation," every town having had its own tástánágis and its head tástánági. Still, under McGillivray, with whom Milfort claims to have been associated, a kind of despotism existed under which a friend of the Creek leader might have been advanced to considerable power. Though Milfort's work is written in an intensely egotistical vein and contains numerous exaggerations and misstatements it is evidently founded on fact. The migration legend which it reproduces is probably correct in fundamentals, but Milfort has identified rivers and other geographical features in such a reckless manner that he carries the Creeks over a large part of the central United States and into places where the nation was scarcely known even by name. The legend is probably a form of the version current at Otciapofa, McGillivray's home town, and has especial interest for that reason. It is as follows:

"When the Spaniards conquered Mexico everyone knows that this fair country of North America was inhabited by a gentle and peaceable people which, having no knowledge of firearms, was easily subjugated. It had only courage and numbers to oppose to the murderous arms of its enemies; in a word, it was defenceless; for

[17] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 218-254.

[18] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 268.

[19] Mémoire ou Coup-d'Oeil Rapide sur mes différens voyages et mon séjour dans la nation Crëck. Paris, 1802.

[20] On the title page of Milfort's work.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173
539

what availed a bow and arrows against the artillery of an army, feeble in numbers indeed but warlike, intrepid, and led on by an insatiable thirst for gold, which this too trusting people had been unfortunate enough to display to their eyes.

"Montezuma reigned then in Mexico; seeing that it was impossible to arrest the progress of the Spaniards, he called to his assistance the peoples which were neighbors to his states. The nation of the Moskoquis, known now under the name of Creeks, who formed a separate republic in the northwestern part of Mexico, and who had numerous warriors, offered him assistance, formidable for any enemy other than a disciplined army, such as that of the Spaniards commanded by Fernan-Cortéz.

"The courage of this warlike people resulted, then, only in its more prompt destruction, and was not able to save Montezuma, who lost his life and his empire, which was almost entirely depopulated. After the death of Montezuma and many other chiefs, the Moskoquis, considerably weakened by this terrible war, which they were no longer in a condition to maintain, determined to abandon a country which offered them in exchange for their past happiness only the most terrible slavery, to search for one which would secure to them the abundance and peace of which the Spaniards had just deprived them.

"They directed their march toward the north, and ascended in fifteen days as far as the source of Red River, that is to say a distance of about a hundred leagues. This river throws its waters into the northern part of America, across immense prairies, a fact which fixed their determination to follow its course. They traveled therefore eight days in this direction through a plain brilliant with the most beautiful flowers, and covered with wild animals, which offered them all the resources necessary for their existence. This country would have attracted them to settle in it for all time on account of its richness in every respect; but, fearing still for their safety, in a country which did not offer them any natural defense, they continued their journey. In the different excursions which they made along this river, they did not discover any other, not even a stream joining it; but they often found lakes and ponds, many of which had salt water; these were generally covered with aquatic birds of all kinds, notably such as are met along the shore of the ocean. The prairies were alive with partridges, hares, rabbits, turkeys, and other animals. There are such great quantities of this sort of game in these countries, that, when it is pursued from different points at the same time, and is forced to flee, the air is obscured and the land covered with it.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

•173
539

"After having traveled thus for many days they found some groves where they made a halt. The young warriors were sent in different directions by the old men to examine the face of the country. At the end of a month they returned announcing that they had discovered a forest, on the edges of which, and at the same time along Red River, were fine subterranean dwellings. The entire nation set out; and, when they arrived near these caves, they discovered that they had been dug by bison, or wild oxen, and other animals who inhabited them because the earth there was a little salty.

"The Moskoquis found in this country the peace and quiet which they needed in order to repair the considerable losses which they had suffered in the Mexican wars. The colony having brought along a little corn which was left to it, it was planted immediately in order to assure them a means of subsistence. As they lacked the necessary utensils with which to make a settlement they made use of sharp stones, instead of axes, to cut and sharpen sticks of wood which they afterward hardened in the fire and used in cultivating the ground.

"When the Moskoquis had thus performed the first labors connected with their new settlement, they marked out a field, as large as was necessary for the common needs of the colony, and they surrounded it with old pieces of wood and stakes planted in the earth, in order to guard against the incursions of bison and other wild animals, which are very fond of corn. They then allotted to the families the ground contained in this enclosure, and sowed it for their sustenance. The young people of both sexes worked the ground together while the old men smoked their pipes. In this manner they lived for many years, enjoying perfect tranquillity, living by hunting and fishing, and on the products of their land, and regretting little their separation from the country where they had suffered so much. They would no doubt have remained there permanently if the unhappy fortune which seemed to pursue them had not compelled them to undertake a second emigration.

"They were discovered by the Albamos or Alibamons, who killed many of their people. Then the old men, the natural chiefs of the nation, called together the young warriors, and sent them on the trail of the murderers, but without success, because there was no unity in their operations, and they lacked a common chief; they then felt the necessity of selecting one. The old men of the nation assembled and chose the one among them who had rendered the greatest services to the fatherland, and they named him their Tastanégy or grand war chief. . . .

"The Moskoquis are very warlike and are not cast down by defeat; the day after an unsuccessful battle, they march to meet the enemy as courageously as before. It was after this arrangement that they resolved to continue their course toward the northwest. After

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173 539

having marched in this direction for some time, and crossed immense plains, they stopped in a little forest on the banks of the Missouri. There they encountered the Alibamons, whom they had pursued for a long time. They made preparations for the combat. The Tastanégy, or great war chief, arranged the march in the following order: The family of the Wind, from which he had been chosen, crossed the river in the first line; it was followed by the family of the Bear, and then by that of the Tiger [Panther], and so on. When this river was crossed, as the entire nation was on the march, it was necessary to take measures to avoid a surprise on the part of the enemy; and, in case of an encounter with the enemy, to protect all those who were unable to fight. For this purpose, the young people, with their war chiefs, formed the van; the old men the rear guard; those of an age less advanced were on the flanks; the women and the children in the center. They marched in this order until the moment when they encountered the enemy. Then the young men advanced alone with their Tastanégy at their head, and left the main body of the nation in a place of safety, and under the protection of the old men. By a stealthy and well planned march they surprised their enemy, and reached the caves which the Alibamons inhabited, before the latter were warned; and, not allowing them time to rally, they made a great slaughter. The fright into which such a surprise threw the foe caused them to abandon their dwellings; they fled along the Missouri, and rallied on the banks of this river, while the Moskoquis were gone to rejoin their countrymen, in order to march again on the trail of the enemy. The Alibamons, fearing a new surprise, had made their old men, women, and children march in advance, the young warriors forming the rear-guard; then they continued for some time to descend this river on its right bank. The Moskoquis, following their trail, caught up with them, and defeated them many times. The Alibamons, seeing they were thus pursued, had made the body of their nation pass over to the left bank of the Missouri, and had given them time to get some distance in advance, by delaying the march of the enemy by various skirmishes. But, fearing that they would be unable to resist their attacks, they took advantage of the darkness one night to rejoin their fathers, the Moskoquis not observing them. The latter not finding any enemy when day came and suspecting the course they had taken, crossed the river in order to pursue them again. After a march of some days they again encountered them, and forced them to accept a general battle in which the Alibamons were defeated and fled to the banks of the Mississippi. The Moskoquis, pursuing them with fury, forced them to throw themselves into the river, where a very great number perished. The young Moskoqui warriors, having thus weakened their enemy considerably, ceased to pursue them until they had been rejoined by the body of the nation,

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

●173
539

which followed by short stages. They remained eight days on the bank of this river in order to rest.

"During all this time the Alibamons had marched rapidly and gotten far in advance. The Moskoquis, trying to catch them, buried themselves in an immense forest which is on the left bank of the Mississippi; they camped, but, as there appeared to be no advantage in establishing themselves there, the old men decided to continue the march, and, for this purpose, to send the young warriors in pursuit of the enemy. They marched many days without meeting them; but at length, having discovered their tracks, they returned to report to the council of old men who decided that they would go in pursuit. They advanced again; and, after a march of some days, they came to the river Ohio, which the French call Belle-Rivière. They went up along the banks near the Wabash; and, perceiving that the Alibamons had crossed the Ohio, they also crossed it. When they were on the other side, finding a region with a very beautiful climate, and very rich in all kinds of game, they determined to establish themselves there, and fixed their dwelling in what is known as the Yazau country. As the season was much advanced, they ceased their pursuit, and contented themselves with sending some young warriors to try to discover the route which the Alibamons had taken. The Moskoquis, profiting by some caves which they found and some which they made, took possession of the Yazau lands, where they passed many years, and where the caves which they excavated exist to this day.

"The Alibamons had advanced as far as the banks of the river Coussa; not seeing themselves pursued, and finding themselves in a fertile country, they stopped there; but as they were always in fear of some surprise they sent youths to find out what had become of the Moskoquis and whether they were still pursuing them. Although the war which the Moskoquis waged at this time on the Alibamons had originated in an aggression on the part of the latter, who had killed Moskoqui warriors, the youths who had been sent to discover the Moskoqui had the imprudence to kill the first whom they met. The old men, having been informed of this new aggression, had them march against the Alibamons. The Moskoqui warriors, having learned that the country which their enemy inhabited was toward the rising sun, in a region where the rigors of winter are little felt, and where a great quantity of game of all kinds is to be found, resolved to pursue them a third time, and to populate that country, which is between the two Floridas. With this object in view they crossed the river Cumberland and the Tennessee,[20*] and followed from the north the river Coussa, on the banks of which the remains of the Alibamons had established themselves. The latter, having learned of the march

[20*] It is, of course, nonsense to speak of crossing the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers in going from the Yazoo country to the Coosa.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173 539

of the Moskoquis, did not think it well to await them; they abandoned their position and scattered. Some went to seek an asylum among the Tchactas, and the rest repaired to Mobile, under the protection of the French, who had then just taken possession.

"The Moskoquis, no longer finding enemies to fight, took peaceful possession of the country which they had just conquered. They established themselves on the rivers *Coosa*, *Tallapoosa*, *Chattahoochee*, *Flint*, *Ocmulgee*, little and great *Oconee* and *Ogechee*, and pushed their settlements as far as the river Savannah in Georgia, where the city of Augusta is now built.

"After having taken possession of this immense territory in this manner and having established their settlements, the youths were sent as far as Mobile in pursuit of the Alibamons; but, as they had placed themselves under the protection of the French, the French commandant endeavored to obtain peace for the Alibamons from the chiefs of the Moskoqui warriors. The chiefs of the Moskoqui warriors, not wishing to take it upon themselves to make a treaty without the consent of their nation, referred the matter to the decision of the council of old men; and, while awaiting this decision, they consented to a suspension of hostilities, promising not to kill any Alibamon before they had received the reply of their council, to which they even promised to recommend their enemies, on the express condition that the Alibamons, on their side, would equally respect the Moskoquis, and would avoid as much as possible frequenting the hunting grounds where they must pass the winter, marking out for both separate territories. This truce lasted six months, at the end of which time the old Moskoqui men went down to Mobile with their warriors; and, not only was peace made between the two nations, in presence of the French commandant, but the Moskoquis also agreed to unite the Alibamons with themselves; and, to induce them to do this, they gave them a piece of land on the river of Mobile, which is still called river of the Alibamons. The latter accepted the proposition, under the condition that they might preserve their customs and their usages. Then all of the separated portions were reunited and came to establish themselves on the river which has received their name, and form one little town which bears the name *Coussehatè;*[39b] and, since this time, they have formed an integral part of the Moskoqui nation, which took at this period the name of Creek nation. This name signifies source river, and is derived from the situation of the country which they inhabit, which, as has been shown above, is surrounded or cut by a great number of good sized rivers.[39]

[39a] The Coussehatè (Kossati) really constitute an independent tribe, though related, it is true, to the Alabama.

[39] For the real origin of this term see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 215.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

●173
539

"About the same time an Indian tribe which had been almost destroyed by the Iroquois and the Hurons came to ask for the protection of the Moskoquis, whom I will now call Creeks. The latter received them among themselves and assigned to them a territory in the center of the nation. They built a town which is now very considerable, which is named Tuket-Batchet from the name of the Indian tribe. The great assemblies of the Creek nation, of which it is an integral part, are sometimes held within its walls. The warlike reputation of the Creeks, and knowledge of the good reception which they had given the Alibamons and the Indian tribe of which I have just spoken, rapidly spread among the other savage people of North America; and those among them who were too weak to resist the attacks of an enemy, came at once to beg for their help. The Tasquiguy and the Oxiailles [Okchai], who had experienced from their neighbors the same fate as the Tuket-Batchet, having learned of the good treatment which the latter had experienced from the Creeks, came to ask of them an asylum and protection. They were both received into the nation; lands were given them to cultivate, and they [the Tasquiguy] established themselves at the junction of the rivers *Coosa* and Tallapoosa, where they made a village which still bears the name Tasquiguy. The Oxiailles went ten leagues to the north and established their dwelling in a beautiful plain on the banks of a little river; they formed a town there to which they also gave their name.

"A short time afterward the remains of the little Udgi [Yuchi] nation, which had been partially destroyed by the English, also came to seek refuge among the Creeks, who assigned them lands on the banks of the river Chattahoochee. A part of the Chickasaw nation also came to seek refuge among the Creeks, who gave them lands on the river Yazau, at the head of the river of the Wolves [the Neshoba]. They built their settlements there, extending them as far as the mountains of the Cherokee, behind which runs the Tennessee River, which takes its rise in these mountains, near Tougoulou, back of South Carolina, at a short distance from the source of the Savannah in Georgia.

"The immense extent of territory of which the Moskoquis, now Creeks, had taken possession after the flight of the Alibamons, provided them with means of receiving in this manner all of the peoples who asked the favor of them, and giving them lands to clear. They thus augmented their reputation and their means of sustaining it.

"Although the nations received by the Creeks became integral parts of them encounters took place in which they alone were concerned; but in case of defeat, they were allowed to claim the protection of the Creeks who aided them either by their arms, or their mediations . . ."

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173 ●
539

[Here follows an account of the Natchez and their incorporation into the Creek confederacy; it contains little new information. Milfort also speaks of the admission into the confederacy of the Seminole, whom he treats as having been originally Florida Indians and Apalachee.]

"A short time after the American revolution, a part of the Savanhaugay nation, which inhabits the upper part of the river Savanha, which has taken the name of this nation, retired to the north to the banks of the Ohio, near Quintockey [Kentucky]; the other part retired among the Creeks, who gave them lands on the river Tallapoosa, near the Alibamons. This nation established itself there and has built a little town, and follows its own peculiar usages and habits, which differ much from those of the Creeks, a fact which does not prevent perfect agreement between them. Their interests are common; they go hunting together, and on the same territory; in case of war their warriors march together, and obey the same grand chief. However, when a Savanhaugay marries a Creek woman, he is obliged to follow the laws, customs, and usages of the Creek nation; which does not happen when a Creek marries a Savanhaugay woman.

"The Creek nation, being thus augmented by a great number of emigrations from neighboring nations, has acquired a unity which makes it now very powerful and capable of putting on foot a very strong and very warlike army. Finding itself the most powerful on the continent, it is that fact which regulates every year, in the grand council of the old men, the conduct which shall be pursued during the year, not only by the different nations of which I have spoken which compose it, but also that of the savage nations of almost all North America." [22]

The narrative given by Swan is very much disordered and is worth little, the origin of the Seminole, for instance, being set down as antedating that of the Creeks. Perhaps this part of the story contains a reminiscence of an original occupancy of southern Georgia by the Creeks and their subsequent retirement to the Chattahoochee and even to the Tallapoosa. His account runs thus:

"Men of the best information and longest acquaintance with these Indians give the following account of the rise and progress of the nation.

"Tradition, handed down from one generation to another, has established a general belief among them (which may be true), that a long time ago some strange, wandering clans of Indians from the northwest found their way down to the present country of the Seminoles; there meeting with plenty of game, they settled themselves in the vicinity of the then powerful tribes of the Florida and Appa-

[22] Milfort, Voy., pp. 229-264. The true circumstances involved in the incorporation in the Creek Confederacy of the several tribes mentioned, so far as these are known, have been given in Bulletin 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173
539

lachian Indians: that for some time they remained on a friendly footing with each other. The new-comers were styled Seminolies (signifying wanderers, or lost men).[23a]

"These wanderers from the north increased, and at length became so powerful a body as to excite the jealousy of their Appalachian neighbors. Wars ensued, and finally the Seminolies became masters of the country. 'The remnants of the Appalachians were totally destroyed by the Creeks in 1719.'[23]

"In the process of time, the game of the country was found insufficient to support their increasing numbers. Some clans and families emigrated northward, and took possession of the present district of the Cowetas; having established themselves there, other emigrations followed, and in time spread themselves eastward as far as the Oakmulgee river, and other waters of Georgia and South Carolina, and westward as far as the Tallapoosee and Coosa rivers, which are the main branches of the Alabama. Here they were encountered by the Alabama nation, whom they afterwards conquered; and by restoring to them their lands and river, gained their attachment, and they were incorporated with the Creek nation. The Creeks became famous for their abilities and warlike powers; and being possessed of a well watered country, were distinguished from their ancestors (the Seminolies of the low barren country) by the name of Creeks or Muscogies.

"The kind soil, pure water, and air of their country being favorable to their constitutions as warriors, has perhaps contributed to give them a character superior to most of the nations that surround them.

"Their numbers have increased faster by the acquisition of foreign subjects than by the increase of the original stock. It appears long to have been a maxim of their policy, to give equal liberty and protection to tribes conquered by themselves, as well as to those vanquished by others—although many individuals, taken in war, are slaves among them; and their children are called, of the slave race, and can not arrive to much honorary distinction in the country on that account.[24]

"The Alabamas and Coosades are said to be the first who adopted the ceremonies and customs of the Creeks, and became part of the nation. The Natchez, or Sunset Indians, from the Mississippi, joined the Creeks about fifty years since, after being driven out of Louisiana, and added considerably to their confederate body. And now the Shawanese, called by them Sawanes, are joining them in large numbers every year, having already four towns on the Tallapoosee river, that contain near 300 war men, and more are soon expected."[25]

[23a] Properly people who camp at a distance from the large settled towns.

[23] Probably Swan's informants had in mind the dispersion of the Apalachee by Moore in 1704. By referring to Bulletin 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 109–130, it will be seen that the destruction was by no means complete.

[24] There appears to have been little truth in this statement.

[25] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 259–260.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173
539

In his paper in volume 3 of the Transactions of the American Ethnological Society William Bartram states that the Creek nation in his time consisted of about 60 towns, "thirty of which speak the *Muscogulge tongue*, and are the progeny or descendants of a powerful band of a nation bearing that name, who, many years since (on their nation becoming very numerous, and filling their native country with inhabitants, by which the game and other necessary produce of their country became scarce and difficult to procure) were induced to separate themselves from, and go in search of, new and plentiful regions. They directed their migrations eastward, leaving with great regret and difficulty their native land, containing their relations and friends, which was on the banks of a large and beautiful river, called the Red River, from great quantities of red stone, of which they formed their tobacco-pipes.[35a] Their migrations continued a long time, and under great hardships and embarrassments, they being continually attacked by hostile Indian nations, till at length they arrived at the banks of the *Great River*, i. e., that which they crossed, when they began to think of establishing a permanent residence; but, being yet assaulted and disturbed by surrounding nations, they pushed eastward as far as the *Ockamulge*."[36] In the narrative of his travels Bartram covers the same ground in fewer words, and adds that "they were obliged to make a stand, and fortify themselves in this place [Ocmulgee], as their only remaining hope, being to the last degree persecuted and weakened by their surrounding foes. Having formed for themselves this retreat, and driven off the inhabitants by degrees, they recovered their spirits, and again faced their enemies, when they came off victorious in a memorable and decisive battle. They afterward gradually subdued their surrounding enemies, strengthening themselves by taking into the confederacy the vanquished tribes."[37]

Nearer to the original is Hawkins's narrative obtained from Tussekiah Mic-co, evidently of the town of Kasihta:

"There are in the forks of Red river, (We-cha-te-hat-che Au-fuskee,)[38] west of Mississippi, (We-ō-coof-ke, muddy water,) two

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[35a] The Red Pipestone Quarry was in Minnesota and of course had nothing to do with the Red River of Louisiana.

[36] Bartram in Trans. Am. Ethn. Soc., vol. III, p. 12.

[37] Bartram, Travels, p. 52.

[38] The Muskogee words used by Hawkins in this story and requiring explanation are the following: We-cha-te-hat-che Au-fus-kee (Wi tcati hátci akfáski, "water red river forks"). We-o-coof-ke (Wi ogufki, "water muddy"). Hi-yus-yul-gee (Hayuya + ági, see footnote 20). Tote-kit-cau (totka itka "fire place," "where the fire burns," the bank fire). E-mu-ge-tuh E-mis-see (Isagita immisi "breath its holder or keeper"). Mic-co-ho-yoc-ulgee (miko hoyánkija "chief purgative"). Auche-nau (atcina "cedar"). Toc-loh (tóla "sweet bay"). E-mau-li-ge-tuh (immalsigita "clan"). Noc-cusse-ul-gee (Nokosi + ági "Bears" or "Bear people"—i. e., "Bear clan"). Mic-ul-gee (Miko + ági "Chiefs"). Is-tau-mul-gee (Istanti + ági "Istanti (Spanish?) clan"). E-ne-hau-thloc-ul-gee (Hesiha + láko + ági "Big Hesihas"). Thlot-lo-ul-gee (Lólo + ági "Fishes," "Fish clan"). Au-tus-sau (Atcisá "war-club"). Te-po-hus-o (tipahúsa). E-sau-halpe (Isa halpi "head skin"). Itlo chate (Ito tcati "red stick," "red wood," "red tree"). Cha-che-see (tcatcusi "my younger brother or brothers"). Chat-la-hau (tcalákha "my elder brother or brothers"). Um-mau-mau-yuh (probably ámo' mayi "my tall, high, or grown people"; the ceremonial name of Cowata was Cowata mo' mayi, "tall Cowata"—See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 220). Tost-sau-hat-chee (Tukabá'tci). Au-lic-chul-gee (alikita + ági "doctors"). O-chesse-hat-che (Otchi hátci "Otchi River"—See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 218). Chic-ke-tal-lo-hau-hat-che (Tcíska lákha hátci "Chiska-town River"—See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 220). Sau-va-no-gee (Sawánki). Tote-kit-cau hunggee (tótka + itka + hánkusi "square-ground fire one only").

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NNU

• 173
539

mounds of earth. At this place, the Cussetuh, Cowetuh, and Chickasaws found themselves. They were at a loss for fire. Here they were visited by the Hi-you-yul-gee,[29] four men who came from the four corners of the world. One of these people asked the Indians, where they would have their fire, (tote-kit-cau). They pointed to a place; it was made; and they sat down around it. The Hi-you-yul-gee directed, that they should pay particular attention to the fire, that it would preserve them and let E-sau-ge-tuh E-mis-see, (master of breath,) know their wants. One of these visitors took them and showed them the Pas-sau; another showed them Mic-co-ho-yon-ejau, then the Auche-nau, (cedar,) and Too-loh, (sweet bay.) (There are one or two other plants, not recollected. Each of these seven plants was to belong to a particular tribe (E-mau-li-ge-tuh).) After this, the four visitors disappeared in a cloud, going from whence they came.

"The three towns then appointed their rulers. The Cussetuhs chose the Noo-coose-ul-gee, (bear tribe,) to be their Mic-ul-gee, (mic-cos,) and the Is-tau-nul-gee, to be the E-ne-hau-thluc ul-gee, (people second in command.) The Cowetuhs chose the Thlot-lo-ul-gee, (fish tribe,) to be their Mic-ul-gee, (miccos.)

"After these arrangements, some other Indians came from the west, met them, and had a great wrestle with the three towns; they made ball sticks and played with them, with bows and arrows, and the war club, (Autus-sau.) They fell out, fought and killed each other. After this warring, the three towns moved eastwardly, and they met the Au-be-cuh at Coosau river. Here they agreed to go to war for four years, against their first enemy; they made shields (te-po-lux-o) of Buffalo hides, and it was agreed that the warriors of each town, should dry and bring forward the scalps (E-cau halpe) of the enemy and pile them; the Aubecuh had a small pile, the Chickasaws were above them, the Cowetuhs above them, and the Cussetuhs above all. The two last towns raised the scalp pole, (Itlo chate, red wood,) and do not suffer any other town to raise it. Cussetuh is first in rank.

"After this, they settled the rank of the four towns among themselves. Cussetuh, called Au-be-cuh and Chickasaw cha-chu-see (younger brothers). The Chickasaw and Aubecuhs, called Cussetuh and Cowetuh, chat-la-hau (oldest brothers). Au-be-cuh, called the Chickasaw Um-mau-mau-yuh (elders, or people ahead of them). Chickasaws sometime use the same expression to Aubecuh.

"This being done, they commenced their settlements on Coo-sau and Tal-la-poo-sau, and crossing the falls of Tallapoosa above Tool-cau-bat-che, they visited the Chat-to-hoche, and found a race of people with flat heads, in possession of the mounds in the Cussetuh

[29] I have been told that Yahola and Hayuya were "very pure spirits" who presided over the annual ceremony or busk. Hi-you-yul-gee would be the plural of Hayuya. See p. 485.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173
539

fields. These people used bows and arrows, with strings made of sinews. The great physic makers (Au-lic-chul-gee) sent some rats in the night time, which gnawed the strings, and in the morning, they attacked and defeated the flats.[20] They crossed the river at the island, near the mound, and took possession of the country. After this they spread out eastwardly to O-cheese-hat-che (Ocmulgee), Oconee, O-ge-chee (How-ge-chuh), Chie-ke-tal-lo-fau-hat-che (Savannah), called sometimes Sau-va-no-gee, the name for Shaw-a-nee. They met the white people on the seacoast, who drove them back to their present situation.

"Cussetuh and Chickasaw consider themselves as people of one fire (tote-kit-cau humgoce) from the earliest account of their origin. Cussetuh appointed the first Micco for them [the Chicaksaw], directed him to sit down in the big Savanna, where they are now, and govern them. Some of the Chickasaws straggled off and settled near Augusta, from whence they returned and sat down near Cussetuh, and thence back to their nation. Cussetuh and Chickasaw have remained friends ever since their first acquaintance.

"During the late war between the Creeks and Chickasaws, Cussetuh refused her aid, and retained her long established friendship for the Chickasaws; and when the Creeks offered to make peace, their offers were rejected, till Cussetuh interposed their good offices. These had the desired effect, and produced peace."[21]

We now know that those versions of the legend which represent the Muskogee as having come as far east as the Georgia coast from which they were pressed back by the whites have better foundation in fact than was formerly supposed.[22] Bolton[22a] has shown that the location of the great body of Creeks on Ocmulgee River prior to 1715 was ephemeral, but there can be no doubt that some Creek tribes were elements in the population of Guale on the Georgia coast.[22b] As we have seen, Swan brings the Creeks into Florida and Gallatin had obtained a similar legend, perhaps through Swan himself.

"Their traditions say that they emigrated from the Northwest until they reached Florida, when they fell back to the country between the headwaters of the Alabama and Savannah Rivers . . . Those

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[20] Most Muskogee traditions recognise that the country into which they came was already occupied. Besides references in several of the myths here given, a contributor to Schoolcraft's first volume states that the "Creeks believed the land they occupied was held before their coming by another people of whom they had no definite knowledge, but not by other people than Indians and not by a more civilised people." They conquered these earlier occupants and the latter "wended their way south." This authority differs from many others in affirming that "the circular breastworks in their country they believed were built by themselves for protection." (Schoolcraft, Am. Inds., I, pp. 266-267.) Pope mentions a war waged by the Creeks with "a numerous Tribe of Seminoles, whom the Creeks after a long and bloody contest of 20 years exterminated, and re-peopled the deserted villages by slow emigrations from their own victorious tribes." He modestly places this event 10,000 years before his own time (Pope, Tour, p. 32).

[21] Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pt. I, pp. 81-82.

[22] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 80-100.

[22a] H. E. Bolton, Spain's Title to Georgia, Univ. of Calif. Pubs, Berkeley, 1925, pp. 53-66.

[22b] Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., loc. cit.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173 539 remaining in Florida were called the Seminoles, or Isti-semole (wild men). The nation became a confederacy of tribes, speaking other languages, modifying somewhat the original Muskogee, but who, nevertheless, numbered seven-eighths of their whole number."[33]

A few references to this legend appear in the American State Papers and in other publications, but, with one exception, they add little or nothing to it, their value being purely confirmatory. The one exception is the statement attributed by Gallatin, to "the chiefs of the delegation, who attended at Washington in the year 1826," and who "agreed that the prevailing traditon amongst them was, that the nation had issued out of a cave near Alabama River."[34] Unless this was in reality the Alabama story [35] instead of that of the true Muskogee, it stands entirely by itself.

173 Practically all of the older Creeks retain some belief in a western origin.[36] The place from which they came they call "the navel of the world," and it is now supposed to have been at Ikánà łaʻfoni, "the backbone of the earth," a name they give to the Rocky Mountains. There is always mention of their having crossed waters, and of the course of their migration having been supernaturally guided by means of a stick which they set up in the ground and which bent of itself in the direction they were to take. This stick is said to have been a ball stick, and it is often spoken of as red.[37] One informant explained the color by saying that the pole was made of cedar. Jackson Lewis, one of my oldest and best informants, told a somewhat different story. According to him, when the Muskogee came out of the navel of the earth near the Rocky Mountains they had a red arrow which they shot a long distance in advance, marching in the direction of its flight until they had reached it. They repeated this action every day until they found the arrow lying pointing backward. At that spot they halted and established their nation.

173 539 Legus Perryman, formerly interpreter for the Creek chief Pleasant Porter, and at one time chief of the Creeks himself, gave me the following versions of the migration legend, as told by the Tulsa and Coweta Indians, respectively:

"The people who were afterward known as Coosa or Tulsa Indians traveled eastward toward the rising sun until they came to a big water too wide to cross. They went back from this to a certain place and lived there a long time. By and by they came to the same water again but here it was narrow. The other shore was well wooded

[33] Gallatin, quoted in Ann. Rept. Smithson. Inst., 1885, part II, p. 211.
[34] Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., II, p. 95.
[35] For the Alabama origin myths see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 191-192.
[36] Early in the nineteenth century, according to the American State Papers (Ind. Aff., II, p. 871), four Creek chiefs denied that their people had come from the West and obtained their lands by conquest, but a misunderstanding is quite possible, and, besides, this testimony concerned their title to the lands of the old Creek Nation in Alabama and Georgia, a fact which they very well knew.
[37] In the oldest legend, as we have seen, it is represented as a war club (see p. 25).

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173
539

and pleased them, and they wanted to get over to it. Their leader, however, said: 'We ought to cross, but I am going to try an arrow.' If it landed on the other side he knew they could get over. He shot, therefore, and his arrow went into the woods. The people remained there until they had gotten together some boats and rafts on which they crossed in safety. Then they established themselves where they found quantities of game. After a while they began moving east again, and they did this at intervals, always in the same direction. At last they settled permanently, became very numerous, and established square grounds.

"One night, a long time afterward, a dance was held at which all persons were present except a newly married couple who were in some manner delayed. When these arrived at the square, late at night, they found nothing there but a lake. They remained on the shores of the lake watching and noticed that the birds which tried to fly across fell in and were drowned. One big crane, however, flew all the way over. It said 'koos, koos, koos,' and they thought that that was its name. As time went on this couple had children and their descendants formed another big town; and because the bird did fly over the submerged village in safety they named the town after it, saying 'We shall be called Coosas.' And in the town orations to-day their descendants, the people of Tulsa, begin by saying 'We are the Coosa people.'

"The Coweta say that they came out from under the earth and found the surface soft and muddy, difficult to travel upon. By and by it became dry and hard. They were on the top of a mountain from which they could see the setting and the rising of the sun. Then they debated whether to go toward the sunset or the sunrise but finally they agreed to go toward the sunrise. So they traveled eastward slowly, stopping a long time where the hunting was good and then going on again, until they came at last to a river. This river was very muddy and so wide that they stayed on its banks longer than anywhere else, and there they inaugurated the ball play. At last they made boats and crossed. Then they traveled on again eastward until they came to the ocean ('big water'). They found that the water of the ocean would come up and go out again, enabling them to collect oysters and other things good to eat, and they stopped there and lived on those products, being unable to pass beyond. They claim that they traveled side by side with the Kasihta, and some add the Abihka, which some deny. The place from which they started they call Ilafoni, 'the backbone,' and they identify this with the Rocky Mountains."

The following version of the migration legend was told by Ispahihtca, of the Kasihta town, a former chief of the Creek Nation,[37a]

[37a] See p. 321.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173
539

to James R. Gregory, by whom it was repeated to the writer in May, 1912:

"Some people anciently lived together in the west. In course of time they became so evil that they could find nothing pure in the world except the sun, and they determined to travel eastward to find the place from whence it came. On the way they became separated into three bodies. The first of these were called Chickasaw because on the morning when they were to set out they were the first to see the sun rise and said Tcika ha'sà [hitcika hasà], 'See the sun!' The second body said to the first Kohasita,[37b] 'Where is the sun?' from which circumstance they received the name Kasihta. The Chickasaw moved first, the Kasihta following them, but the third body of people had some difficulty in passing around a brier thicket and were left a long distance behind, so that the parties in advance began to call them Ko-aoita, 'Those that are following us,' whence the name Coweta.

"During their travels these tribes came to a great river which they crossed, and presently the Chickasaw entered upon a beautiful country where were small prairies abundantly supplied with strawberries and other wild fruits and having deep pools of water. Then the Chickasaw did not want to go any farther and said that they did not care where the sun came from. So they settled in that country, while the remaining bands held on their course. By and by the Kasihta, who were still in advance, crossed a river smaller than the first. On the other side they raised a mound, leaving a great chamber in the center in which to fast and purify their bodies. They left their women, children, and other noncombatants there and went on toward the east. Afterward, the Coweta arrived on the opposite side of the river and sent word over that they intended to cross and kill everyone in the place because the Kasihta warriors had not waited to have them join in the expedition. But among the Kasihta women was one who had a magic white stone or pebble, the mate to which was in the keeping of her husband among the warriors. By means of this stone she informed him of the serious state of affairs, and the Kasihta warriors immediately retraced their steps, cut switches, and, passing over to the Coweta warriors, whipped them severely. But they did not strike them with a weapon of war. They then told the Coweta to take charge of the mound, and, gathering together their own noncombatants, they went eastward once more.

"After the Kasihta had left, the Coweta made medicine and went inside of the great mound in order to purify themselves, but while they were there a Cherokee war party attacked the camp. Great was their surprise, however, when the Coweta warriors poured up

[37b] Kō is not the usual word meaning "where?" but is probably an exclamatory particle.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

from the bowels of the earth, and they were defeated with great slaughter. From this circumstance the Coweta town became the great war town of the Creek Nation. Then the Kasihta sent back for the Coweta but, without waiting for them to catch up, continued in the same direction as before. Presently they reached a country populated by naked people who would attack them and then run off. The naked people did this repeatedly until they at length ran into a dense fog. The Kasihta followed them and, emerging on the other side, found themselves on the shore of the ocean from which the fog had arisen. Unable to go farther they camped where they were, and in the morning saw the sun rise out of the sea. They concluded that that was why it was so bright and pure. By and by the Coweta came up, and the two peoples agreed that the country from which they had started was so far off that they would not return to it. So they remained where they were, fought with the inhabitants of the land, and brought them under their own system of laws.

"In course of time no people were left willing to resist them, and they longed for someone with whom to fight. Hereupon Coweta challenged Kasihta to a game of ball in order to obtain revenge for having been beaten with switches by the latter. The custom of having ball contests originated at this time and in this manner and has continued to the present day. Now arose the division between the war towns and the peace towns. The war towns have separated from the Coweta and the peace towns from the Kasihta, except in the cases of towns which have been brought in from outside. These have usually been brought in by the peace towns, and hence are generally white."

A very much longer account, involving, in fact, a rough history of the Kasihta tribe from earliest times to the date when they made peace with the Cherokee, was, however, taken down by the late Albert S. Gatschet from the same native authority. It is preserved in one of Doctor Gatschet's manuscript notebooks in the original Creek with interlinear translation, and, as nearly as I can determine, runs as follows:

"It was in the beginning when people were first created. This is the history of the three tribes known as Kasihta, Chickasaw, and Coweta. Far off toward the west many people came out of the ground. And the Coweta were delayed by the root of a tree which stretched across their road. Then the Kasihta and Chickasaw towns came out of the earth together. At that time the people were without clothing or fire. And they sewed together leaves of trees with which to cover themselves. And while they were there the Breath-holder (Hisa'kita immi'si) spoke to them and said: 'The earth which lies here is the foundation of all things.' And he said: 'The

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173
539

earth being created, the second thing is water, the third the trees and grass, and the fourth the things having life.' Even down to the smallest things they were created.

"And, continuing, he said: 'A last day will come.' That is what he said to him. Continuing, he said: 'Fire will destroy this world, and when it comes the dead people will arise out of the earth and fearful things that were existing within it will arise out of it. Everything will gather together in the interior of the earth. At that time there will be no more death.

"'When that occurs I too will come.' he said. 'I shall come to seek those who have not killed anyone, and those who have not told a lie, people who are really humble, those who love people much, and persons who are unselfish, and persons who abase themselves. And when I take them up, "Take me up, too," the others will say, holding their hands up. Then those left on that day which is bright and hanging will be lost together.'[38]

"And when he departed they stood still looking about, and when they saw the rising sun, they wanted to see the place from which it came, and they started thither. And while they were on the way, they considered, supposing the sun to be hot, how they should light a fire with it. Then they took a stick of wood dried in the sun's heat and bored into it with another dry stick until it caught fire. Then they named the wood with which they had made the fire 'the slimy wood' (afo'sʼlipaʼkfa—the slippery elm).

"Afterward they remained there four years, fasting for eight days [each year]. When the four years were completed, providing themselves with the fire, they again set out toward [the sun]. And while they were still traveling east the Chickasaw stopped saying, 'My moccasins are worn out, and I will stop to mend them; even if you go on I will catch you.' 'All right,' he [Kasihta] said. He made a spring for him, by sticking his elbow down into the ground and turning it around four times. Having made a big spring for him, he said 'Stay here drinking this until you can go.' Then [the Kasihta] went away. But [the Chickasaw] settled there for good.

"When they came to the end of the dark grass they continued to obtain things for themselves.

"Whenever they stopped they remained there for four years; they marched with an advance guard moving about in front. When they saw the ocean and found that they could not go farther they stopped there. They rested by a large river. Then they learned that some people were living on the other side. They wanted to know what sort of people were living there and went near, when a fog covered them so that they were moving about in it and so stopped

[38] The material in the latter half of the first paragraph and in paragraphs 2 and 3 is, of course, from Christian sources.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173 ● 539

not able to see anything. They discovered that the strangers had something which smelt very good and they wanted it, and they considered how they could get it.

"While they were considering over it they made a long mound and another round mound. They said that this action would give them help. When they were ready they caused a wind to blow on the people covered with fog living there, and the fog was cleared away. Then they killed [part of the stranger people] and took many captive and exterminated that town.[28] They built a town there of their own. While doing this they were in the habit of sending out guards. They made the guards go out for one year, and when those returned [who had been away during the war] and found that [stranger] people had been killed, they said 'You did not save any for us,' and they wept in anger at having been deprived of the opportunity to kill. The two men were projected across the river, hanging to the ends of arrows, and going along the stream they trailed [their enemies]. Presently they found two persons lying asleep who had been throwing up the earth into mounds. They killed them there and by so doing wiped away their tears. Then the locality was named 'Shoveling place.' After four years [the Kasihta] left their women and children together in that place and set out to get scalps. Not anticipating any danger the men all started out. The women continued to live there alone. Afterwards the Coweta people, following their trail, came to the big river and camped on the nearer side. Then they sent out scouts who reported that people were staying near by. Then they said 'We had better kill them,' and they said 'Watch them closely.' Watching them closely they discovered that only women were in that place. Then they went near and spoke to them. And they said to them 'What has become of the males?' They answered 'They went away to war a long time ago. It is now nearly four years since they left.' And [the new comers] answered 'They can not be alive.' But an old woman said 'The men are still alive.' Then they (the Coweta) said: 'Being an old woman she tells lies.' When it got dark that old woman put a stone into the fire, and when it was red all over she took it out and laid it down pointing in the direction in which the Kasihta had gone, and she stood upon it; and after she had stood there for a while she came back and said 'The men are alive.' Although she said so they did not believe her. And when they said 'She is lying' some of the women thought 'It is probably so,' and finally some married these men. The little old woman tried to dissuade them, and many obeyed her. After a time she said 'Now the warriors are near,' but they did not believe her. 'Now they are close by,' she said, 'Fix your-

[28] From a note these people would appear to have been considered Yuchi.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173
539

selves. Comb yourselves.' She kept on encouraging the whole town. When the warriors had gotten near to the town she went out to their camp and said 'Things have been thus and so while we have been settled here,' and she informed them about all that had happened. But when people had been to war it was their custom not to enter the town on their return too hurriedly. Therefore they waited some time to attend to [i. e., purify] themselves and then passed into the town. Then they held a council and said 'What shall we do with these men? If we kill them it will be of no benefit and they may be of use to us.' And while they were sitting in council they gathered the male Coweta together. Then they built a large fire and made them dance, pushing them down into the fire so that they jumped over it to escape. They did this for some time. They also took sticks and beat them on the front parts of their calves, and they cut off theirs ears, and they made a law of this.[86a]

"Then they continued to play tricks on the Coweta by putting strings of dog excrement around their necks. They said 'It shall be our law that if a man cohabits with a married woman his ears shall be cut off and also his nose. And if a person is whipped inordinately and he dies the leader of the whipping party shall be killed. And if a man cohabits with a married woman in the middle of the summer at the time of the big harvest when the busk is over, and the aggrieved party finds it out, if the man runs away and lives by himself for a whole year, in midsummer after the busks of all the towns are over, the man and the woman can not receive the penalty of the law.' Then they continued 'We have constructed a long mound and a round mound in order to protect ourselves. You must sit down and watch them.' So the tall Coweta were told. They also made a chief for [the Coweta]. And they used for this purpose the Fish clan. 'If you lose him by death you must consider for yourselves [how to replace him],' they were told. And there they made a tribe of the Coweta. Then they were told to live inside of the two mounds. And on top of these hollow mounds they drank asi every morning. And when the asi was cooked a great pan of it was set out before them at daybreak every morning. Every morning when it was taken they set it away for them. They established themselves there permanently as a tribe. They told each other what they had been doing. Then the Kasihta put a question to the Coweta, and they answered: 'We came along the trail on which others had gone. We came because we wanted to see what they were doing.' And the people said 'since it came (awit) afterward the tribe shall be named Awita,' and it was so named.

[86a] Having reference to the Creek laws against adultery; see pp. 349-354.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173 539

"And, continuing, the Kasihta said 'We came out of the center of the earth.' The Coweta answered 'We came out at the same place but, the root of a tree extending in front of us, we emerged only after a delay.' Then they learned that they had been created one people. And they said 'We shall have to return again the way we came, and when we reach the place of our creation we shall be annihilated.' The names of the two rivers near that town were Big River (Hàtci Łàko) and Confluent River (Hàtc Afa'ski).

"There was a place for killing fish at that point; it was found out that it was a place to which fish would come. The Kasihta having found it broke off a pine limb and laid it upon a rock. And the Coweta found it afterward and broke off a black weed called ata'k ła-lasti[395] and laid it down in the same place. Then the Coweta said 'I have found a fish-killing place.' The Kasihta said 'I found it first. I broke off a pine limb to mark it and laid it upon a rock.' And the Coweta said 'I, too, broke off a black weed and laid it there.' They wrangled with each other about it. Then they said to each other 'Let us examine the place.' And when they went to see the marks they found two lying there. When they had examined the matter they found two fish-killing places close together and one was abandoned to the Coweta. Near by was their own fish-killing place where they lived catching and eating fish. They continued there, beginning and carrying on things for their amusement. There they built their big house.[396] They erected four structures which they called houses (tcuko). They placed one to the west, another across from this,[397] another toward the south, another toward the east,[397] and another toward the north. They made the length [of each] eighty times the length of a person's foot and the breadth thirty times. And they made the measure of the arena between them eighty foot-measures each way. The round big-house stood toward the west.[398] They constructed it with a pointed roof, and they covered it with pine bark stripped from the trees. They made only one door, looking toward the east. And they built a fire exactly in the middle so that when it was raining or snowing they could dance there. And in the one of the four houses which stood toward the west the miko of the tribe sat with his vice-chief (apokta). It was called the house of the mikos (mi'kàlgi i'ntchuka). And those who sat in the house to the south were known as 'the owners of the white (hà'tki ipu'tcasi).' If the miko and vice-miko both died they appointed new ones. The one lying across toward the east was called the house of the women (hu'ktagi i'ntcuka). And that on the north side was called 'the house of the warriors' (tàstànàgàlgi i'ntcuka). They

173 539 361

[395] This has yellow flowers which appear at the time of the fall hunt.
[396] The ceremonial square.
[397] Probably by inadvertence the eastern structure is mentioned twice
[398] The Indian or town "hot house."

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

•173 539 [361]

were their war talkers (inhulupuna'ya). And behind the house, lying toward the south, they had what they called the tàdjo. It was round; a ridge of earth was about its edge; and in the middle their ball post was erected. It was a source of amusement, and when it became dark they danced there through the night. The women danced with them.[40b]

173 539 796

"And in the middle of summer at the time of the big harvest they met together at what was called the poskita, and they had what was called the 'big feast' on one day, when they went about eating until evening. The day after that they fasted, took medicine, and vomited it up, and they sat there until evening as moving about was prohibited. They remained there without sleeping until morning. And when they had sat through until the eighth morning, fire produced by boring with a stick was taken to each house.

"After that they considered what amusements they could institute. On the evening of the day of the 'all-day eating (hû'mpi isya'fkita),' they danced what was called the gun dance (taputcka-obânga). And if one had been treated by doctors he went to this dance with his body naked, the bullet wound painted red, and on his back the pay of the doctor, a back load.

"The next morning they kindled a fire by boring with a stick of 'slimy switch' (afo'slipakfa—the slippery elm), drank medicine which had been compounded there, and fasted; and they remained there fasting ceremonially, not eating any kind of food. And they were prohibited from eating meat, salt, and honey, and from touching women and children. When four days were passed they danced different kinds of dances. At noon they had the women dance by themselves the shooting dance[40c] (its obânga), and afterward the men by themselves danced the long dance (obâ'nga tcà'pko). The men and women together danced the old buffalo dance (yana's' atcu'li) holding sticks. The women also danced what was called the old dance (obânga atculi) with turtle-shell rattles tied to their legs. After dark the men and women danced [again and they kept it up] until morning. Then they went to their homes.[40d]

173 539 796 526

"[Following the dances] they played what they called 'Shooting the ball' (puk'i'tcita), holding two bent ball sticks with which they caught and threw the ball. And if they were going to bet, if two towns had dared provoke each other, they advanced to the meeting place, and when they got near they made a camp and stayed there until dark. [On each side] two men, one holding a drum, another a rattle, sat singing for them, the women standing behind them and dancing. Then the men kindled a fire and marched around it whooping and praising themselves continually. From time to

[40b] See pp. 174–190 for descriptions of the ceremonial grounds.
[40c] Probably a mistaken translation. See p. 609.
[40d] For descriptions of the poskita or busk, see pp. 546–614.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173 539 796 526

time they stopped and the fourth time they retired and slept until daybreak. Then they went up to each other, undressed, and met. They wagered such things as horses, money, coats, handkerchiefs. The distance between them in either direction was two hundred yards. The sticks of the ball posts were planted in the ground side by side. Then the ball was thrown up, they ran after it, and they wrestled if they wished. They stood up twenty counting sticks against each other and whichever side first made twenty points won the game. They threw the ball between the posts which had been planted on each side. Afterward those who had won the wagers went off, taking them along.[40a]

173 539

"The Muskogee, Cherokee, Choctaw, Nokfila, Yamasee, Natchez, and people like them continued their mutual enmity. For some time they kept on killing one another. And one tribe, the Nokfila,[41] was lost. The tribe was in part killed out and in part enslaved.

"The Yamasee were good people. They did not want to fight, but, being harassed, they walked deep into the water very humbly, singing pretty songs, and so that tribe was lost.[42] The old people said that this happened because it was in the thought of God that it should be so.

"While that was taking place the mutual killing went on. And since it had to cease, finally it did cease. The peace that was first made came about in this wise.

"There was a man of the Kasihta tribe known as Good-child Chief, celebrated for his ability and praised on account of the awe which he inspired. His ears were split and his body marked with tattooings [of his war honors]. At intervals he would kill Cherokee, strip off their scalps, and carry them home. Upon one occasion he went out as usual to kill people and reached the land of the Cherokee. There he saw human footprints. Observing that they were fresh he followed them. And then he saw a deer having widely branching horns and he shot at it. Afterward it ran on and was lost in the distance. Then he thought 'It would be better to kill *people*,' and he went forward. He followed a stream until he came to a foot log lying across it. Then, seeing that the human tracks by it were fresh, he thought 'I will kill [the people] when they cross upon that log.' He saw a bush covered with leaves near the water, its branches reaching toward him, and, thinking 'I will hide in there and when they cross over I will kill them,' he sat down behind it.

"The people came, he saw them cross, and he pointed his gun at them but put it down again and they passed on leaving him sitting in the same place. Then it happened that he heard someone on

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[40a] See pp. 488–489 for a description of the ball game.

[41] "Nokfila" is also given as an old Muskogee designation of the white people.

[42] The character of this warlike tribe is here entirely misrepresented, and solely because in Muskogee ginsisi is the word meaning "gentle."

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

• 173
539

top of the bluff scolding at a dog in his own language. He became interested and went out. Presently he saw a Muskogee family sitting [by their dwelling] talking. When he got to the place he saw a great camp extending to the creek. The person to whom he went said 'Sit down' and he sat down. Then the Cherokee surrounded him and he sat still unable to do anything. They said to him 'What do you want?' and he answered 'I am here because I was directed to go and see the Cherokee chief. They said to me "When you reach Ikan tăpiksi (Level land), anywhere in that country you can obtain an interpreter." ' Then the Cherokee said 'The chief is living at a distance, but he will arrive four days after having been sent for.' Then he remained there as a prisoner.

"It was a custom of the Cherokee to send out scouts and as soon as they had come home ask each of them what he had learned concerning their enemies. They did so at this time, and he sat listening to them. And when the returning scouts had all gotten through they thought that nothing was the matter. While he was sitting there the returning scouts were all examined as to whether they had seen anything that might give concern to the town, and they finished. Then they examined them again saying 'Did you hear a shot fired?' and one said 'I heard one.' And each of the Cherokee said in turn 'I have not fired a gun.' Then they said to Good-child Chief who was sitting near 'Did you shoot?'

"He answered 'I did.' 'At what did you shoot?' they asked him. 'I shot at a deer' said he. 'Did you shoot near by?' they asked. 'I shot at him very near' he said, 'and I thought I hit him but I came here instead of going to see.' Then they said 'Let us go and see where you did this,' and they took him along. Presently he said 'I shot it here and it went on and died without going very far away.' Then they tried to find it and did so, and they brought it back. 'He has spoken the truth' they thought, and they watched him closely during the four days. At intervals the young men of the Cherokee came in whooping saying that the chief of the Cherokee was coming. On the fourth day he came and they prepared very large round sticks of wood. When all were in the house Good-child Chief and his interpreter were called in. Then his interpreter said to him 'Where the Cherokee are assembled to observe their customs sit still without paying any attention to them.' Then they said 'It (the council) is ready.' So the two went up and sat down. What the interpreter had said about the way they exercised their law was going to be carried out. One man danced the whooping dance holding the ax with which people were killed. He struck the ax into the ground between [the prisoner's] feet. After he had done this for a considerable time he twisted his breechclout to one side and pushed his buttocks toward the stranger's face. Although

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173 539

Good-child Chief did not like this he could not resent it and remained seated. After the man had danced around for a while he stopped and sat down.

"Then they gave Good-child Chief permission to speak. 'Let him make known what he wants' they said. Then he said: 'Brothers, we have caused each other suffering for a long time. I was told to come and see the Cherokee chief.' [My people] said 'While our mother is the same and our father is the same we punish each other, and it has come to such a pass that even our children are inspired with terror. Hereafter it shall not be so. The white path shall extend from our doors,' my people said. 'Even if red is on that path we shall not think it is human blood,' they said, 'and even if we find blood near streams we shall not think it is human blood. We shall think thus. We shall think it is the blood of the many things that are to be found in the water,' they said. 'And afterward, if we find on the white paths that converge to our doors the blood of anything sticking, we shall suppose it is the blood of the many four-footed game animals that have it,' they said. 'And after this, if he (a former enemy) shakes hands with me he must smoke of my tobacco. If I shall see a cloud arising and hanging in the air, we will think, 'He is shaking hands with me,' they said. Then he handed to them white beads strung together which he had with him and said 'They said "This is the image of the earth island."'

"When this speech was ended the Cherokee chief agreed. And the Cherokee chief said to his men 'Take him to the place from which he came and leave him there.' And they conducted him thither and left him. Then he returned to his tribe. And he said: 'I have spoken to the Cherokee chief,' and he informed them what he had done. Then peace making spread and became general."

The old chief from whom the last two stories came informed Mr. Gregory that such traditions must be repeated in a certain manner word for word, for a mistake would cost blood. Yet, such a mistake has been committed either by the chief himself or by one of his interpreters, since we find some striking differences in detail. For instance, the item regarding the attack by Cherokee on the Cowetа when they were living inside of the mound does not appear in Gatschet's version.

A curious modern note is introduced by one of my own informants who said that the Muskogee came from the west, out of "the navel of the earth," and moved eastward after the sun until they reached the ocean. Then it was said: "As long as you can't go all of the way around the earth you can not see the sun."

It is noticeable that all stories emanating from the Lower Creeks speak of their ancestors as having come up out of the ground at "the navel of the earth," the connection of the navel with birth

lt Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173 evidently having been responsible for this designation.[43] An old woman told one of my informants of the Okchai town that for a long time after mankind had come out of the ground great caves remained there. Once some Indians bearing torches entered these in search of bee martins. They found trails of human beings and could make out the marks of moccasins, but the cave people threw stones at them, they were afraid that their torches would be put out, and so they turned back. Another informant remembered a belief that men had come out of the water, but still others quoted "the old people" to the effect that mankind had come from above, and when we examine the matter we seem able to trace this type of origin myth to Tukabahchee. Alindja, an old and well-informed Tukabahchee Indian, told me the following legend:

173 539 "The Indians were sent down from the world above to some place in the west. They had with them the two principal busk medicines, the pasa and miko hoyanĭdja, and among them were seven mikos. They also had fire. Originally there were two camps of them, but after a while one camp decided that they would return. They kept their intentions to themselves, however, until toward night. Then they said 'We are ready. We are going,' and up they went into the sky. By that time it was so late that the people in the other camp, among whom were the seven mikos, said 'We will go tomorrow.' But before morning one of their number died, and, as they could not leave the body in this world or take it with them, thay had to remain.

"After they had stayed in that place for a while they said 'Let us travel,' and they got up and started off. First they went toward the north, but after they had proceeded some distance they set a walking stick up in the ground. Forthwith it leaned toward the south and they said 'That must be the way we should go.' They set off toward the south, and presently they set up the walking stick again. This time it leaned toward the east, so they went east. They went on eastward for a time and set the stick up again. It remained exactly perpendicular and they said 'Here is the place,' and they settled there, having traveled across the whole world to reach it. The word is that our companions, our blood relatives, are in the world above. The chiefs who remained were to be the kings of this continent and they were the seven mikos of Tukabahchee town." [44]

173 This story was paralleled in its main outlines by another informant. As I have stated elsewhere,[45] the origin of Tukabahchee seems to have been distinct from that of the Muskogee proper. According to

[43] In his communication to Schoolcraft regarding the Chickasaw Indians the agent of that tribe says that they did not know the origin of the artificial mounds in their old country and called them "navels." "They thought that the Mississippi was the center of the earth, and these mounds were as the navel of a man in the center of his body." (Indian Tribes, I, p. 311.)

[44] See p. 282.

[45] Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 278. As also indicated in that work, the Tukabahchee had several special names. One of these was Isti ispokogi isti fitcakiko toyayai, "Spokogi who devises from the ayist order or way of doing things." I have mentioned this in the place above indicated but unfortunately omitted the negative after fitca. Another name applied to them, according to Mr. Grayson's notes, was Sakakki Tastanagi, Isti ispakaki toyayai.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

a migration story collected by Tuggle and given in Bulletin 73 they marched south instead of east and claim to have been in Georgia when the white people entered the country. The latter part of this tradition is confirmed by Nuttall,[46] and if it is correct, as seems to be indicated in the case of some constituent elements of the nation, it would account for a tradition remembered by Zachariah Cook to the effect that they had migrated from the east and had crossed a ditch on a footlog which they placed across it with the greatest difficulty. After they were once over they could not get back.

Following is the Tuckabahchee origin myth as related to me by Cook who had it from a Creek Indian, now dead, known as Judge Nokosi. Judge Nokosi told him that it was fragmentary, and that the last person to know it in its completeness was an old man named Napoleon Yahola, who died before the Civil War.

"In the beginning the Indians came pouring out of the earth like ants. Those who got out first looked back, saw in what crowds the others were coming on, and said 'It will not be good. It must be stopped.' And it stopped. In those days they laid down the towaka (logs) about the stomp ground. After they had arranged these and were seated upon them—they were then in the country where later they built their towns—up came the tall Coweta and found them. The Coweta said 'Who are you?' 'I am the little Tukabahchee.' 'What have you?' 'I have only the miko hoyanĭdja and my whoop.' The Tukabahchee miko held the miko hoyanĭdja in his right hand. 'Let us hear you whoop,' said the Coweta. 'No.' 'Yes, let us hear you whoop.' The Tukabahchee behaved very humbly and refused to whoop for some time but finally they agreed in order to please the strangers. Then their leader arose, stamped upon the ground, and whooped, and the earth quivered as if there were an earthquake. After the second whoop the Coweta leader said, 'My friend, that will do,' but, having started, the Tukabahchee was obliged to complete the four cries. When he was through the Coweta chief said 'We will be friends. Here is my medicine; let us combine the two.' So they united the pasa (button-snakeroot) of the Coweta with the miko hoyanĭdja of the Tukabahchee, and the combined medicine is the sawatcka.[47] Thereafter each used both.

"About this time two Ispokogis came down from above, approached the ball ground and saw that there were people there and that it was

[46] "The Creeks entertain a tradition of coming from the west side of the Mississippi, and that, too, at no remote date, as to have heard of the landing of white people on the Atlantic coast soon after their arrival."—Nuttall in Early Western Travels, vol. XIII, p. 268.

[47] Alladja, one of the best informed Tukabahchee, also stated that the pasa and the miko hoyanĭdja were the two standard medicines, although he said that the Coweta medicine was the kapapaska or spicewood. See below. Nevertheless, by others the sawatcka is given as a third medicine, and this is the statement of Hawkins. (Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 79.)

173 • 173 539

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

• 173
539

good, so they remained with the people. One of these Ispokogis made a dugout canoe, and, when it was completed, he got in and began floating up into the air. But, when it was some distance off, he looked back and saw all of the people standing still gazing after him. Then he said 'I can not leave them.' So he came back and, when he landed, the other Ispokogi lay down and died. The surviving Ispokogi remained with the people after that, and with reference to this event the word was 'There shall be a link of brothers, life without ending.' This meant that when one Ispokogi died there should always be another to take his place. Old Tukabahchee miko, who is known to have visited Washington, and who died on Red River about the year 1864, was the last Muskogee to preserve a knowledge of the identity of the Ispokogi. Theoretically there always is such a chief, but since the death of Tukabahchee miko the knowledge of him has become lost. This knowledge was anciently preserved by means of a certain council formed about the sacred fire in the busk ground."

Benjamin Hawkins had heard of this chief, for he says "They have, in this town, a Mic-co of another family, the Is-po-co-gee Mic-co, the ancient name of the town."

It is interesting to be able to add that we have some notes regarding the Ispokogi from that Tukabahchee miko above mentioned, recorded February 1, 1842, by Gen. E. A. Hitchcock. According to the story, as obtained from this source, seven persons of both sexes were sent down from heaven in very old times; later they attempted to return, but one of them, thought to have been a man, died, whereupon the others came back. They then sat down in a square and performed some ceremony which the Indians wished to learn. At first they were unsuccessful, but at last they discovered something about it, and the strangers then taught them how to make a fire and how to worship the Great Spirit. They also brought certain plates from heaven which they gave to the Creek chiefs. Colonel Hawkins, their former agent, said that these had come from the King of England, or at least from the British, but the Indians believed that they were from heaven and were to be worshipped.[47a] The new comers told them to make a new fire once a year by friction, after having extinguished the existing fire, and to thank the Great Spirit for his blessing; at that season they were to exhibit the plates. When this happened the Indians were using bows and arrows and lived entirely by hunting, but after a time they found some white people and from them obtained knives and other useful articles. At a similar early period the Tukabahchee met the Coweta. They smoked the pipe of peace together and agreed to an eternal friendship which they have ever since maintained, and all of the other Indians are obliged to look up to them.

[47a] Elsewhere Hitchcock says that some Indians had a tradition that they had been presented by a Spanish King, and this was probably not far from the truth.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173 [619] 539

This friendship between Tukabahchee and Coweta, the leading "Red towns" of the Upper and Lower Creeks, is woven into many stories which derive their importance from that fact. Alindja, the informant already mentioned, gave me another version, which runs thus:

"Anciently the Tukabahchee were at odds with all of their neighbors and were continually fighting but were uniformly successful. The Coweta heard of them, and, themselves being powerful, wanted to meet them in order to measure their strength. After a long time they heard that they were in their neighborhood and they sent some messengers to speak with them. When the messengers arrived they asked whether they had any chiefs. 'Yes,' they said, 'we have a few.' 'Where are they?' Then two small, insignificant looking persons were pointed out to them sitting with their heads bowed down. Then the visitors addressed the chiefs saying 'We hear that you have a very powerful medicine which enables you to conquer everybody, therefore we have come to learn about it. Have you any warriors?' 'Yes,' said they, 'we have a few.' 'Let us see them.' 'We must whoop four times in order to call them up,' they said. 'All right,' answered the Coweta. Then they sent a messenger who returned presently with something wrapped up in a white deerskin. They unrolled this and produced a short stick of miko hoyanidja. Holding this they whooped once and the earth trembled and it thundered and lightened. After they had whooped the second time, the Coweta said 'That will do. You need not whoop any more.' But the Tukabahchee answered that they must go through to the fourth now that they had begun and they did so. Then the Coweta said, 'Let us become friends and exchange medicines.' They did this and have been firm friends ever since. The Tukabahchee medicine was, as we have seen, the miko hoyanidja; the Coweta medicine was the kapapaska (spicewood)." [47b]

[622]

Mr. Grayson, through whom, as interpreter, the above story was obtained, told the following incident in illustration of the friendship between these two towns. Although in his later years he lived among the Eufaula Indians, he himself actually belonged to the Coweta town. He was once clerk at an election for head chief of the Creek Nation and took exception to certain of the returns. For this a member of the election committee, the chances of whose candidate would have been injured by the exclusion of these, wanted him sent out. The chief of the committee, however, who happened to be a Tukabahchee, answered that this man (i. e., Mr. Grayson) was his friend from ancient times and for that reason he could not do it. Immediately everything quieted down and there was no further trouble.

[47b] Note that the Coweta medicine, as here given, differs from that in Cook's version of the legend.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173 539 A different narrative, obtained from an old Lower Creek Indian named Fulotkee, runs thus:

"Upon one occasion after a number of Indians had been reading those parts of the Bible which relate the story of Adam and Eve, they asked an old Indian of the town of Tulsa Canadian what his forefathers used to say about the origin of man. He answered:

"'In olden times two Coweta men came from the northwest, each carrying a war club (atâsâ). They ran and whooped, so that the earth quaked and echoes rolled in all directions. In some mysterious manner this produced more people who came flocking around. After that they saw a flash of lightning in the north and the thunder following echoed along toward the southwest. It had a sound like that of people, so they sent out four men to search, and these four men saw people in the air. They talked to these people, and presently they came down and accompanied them back. They were the Tukabahchee. Then the men of the two towns said "We have seen each other's power; let us unite. The Coweta shall be the leaders."

[609] "'After this they drifted eastward until they came to the sea. And in course of time people emerged from the waves, seeming to come up out of the foam. Therefore the Indians believed they had been hatched from it and they called them Nokfilâlgi, "People of the foam or ocean drift." These were the white people and they fought with the Indians but were at first prevented from gaining a foothold. The whites were very clever, however, and behaved so humbly that in time the Indians began to make treaties with them and allow them to come to land.'"

173 539 631 619 In the following traditional story of the original meeting of the Upper and Lower Creeks we are somewhat reminded of the narratives just given. It was recorded in the year 1845 by James Logan, United States agent to the Creek Indians.

"The Creek nation is divided into two parties, designated as the Upper Towns, and Lower Towns or McIntosh party. This division, according to their traditions, has always existed. Indeed, it is stated that they have only been known to each other but little upwards of a century, and their first meeting upon the banks of the Chattahoochee was in a hostile attitude, each deeming the other a belligerent and separate and distinct nation; and only upon the eve of battle did they discover their affinity of language, which, though essentially the same, has some peculiarities possessed by the one different from the other."[48]

173 539 619 From several sources the story comes that at one time the Tukabahchee were a small, persecuted people whom the Coweta agreed to befriend and protect. The Tukabahchee were surrounded by enemies who were just about to shoot down into their town. This

[48] Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff. for 1845, p. 515.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173 539 619

story is not, however, ancient, since it is a well-known historical fact that on the outbreak of the Creek-American war the Tukabahchee were hard pressed by other Upper Creek towns until the Coweta came to their assistance.

Undoubtedly there were once myths similar to those told about the Tukabahchee and Coweta, to account for the friendships and differences of all the principal groups of towns in the confederacy, but not many have come down to us. The following fragment tells of the relations between the Tukabahchèe and the Łiwahali, the latter probably the most ancient Red Town among the Upper Creeks. It was related by an old Indian named Kasihta Yahola, since deceased, who belonged to Łapłáko, a branch of Łiwahali.

"The ancestors of the Tukabahchee and the Łiwahali were once in a fog or vapor which prevented them from seeing each other. The Łiwahali wanted to see the Tukabahchee very much, and finally the fog was blown away so that they could do so. For some time the Ispokogis (Tukabahchee Indians) would not speak to them. At last they said, 'Who are you?' They answered, 'We are the Holiwahalis ("those who cut the war in two")'. Then the Łiwahali asked in their turn who the strangers might be and they answered, 'We are the Ispokogis and Tukabahchee.' Then said the Tukabahchee, 'All right, you shall be our younger brothers.'"

The following is told regarding the Tukabahchee, Atasi, and Łiwahali:

"Once, in ancient times, the Łiwahali became angry with the Atasi and determined to destroy them. But the Tukabahchee said to the Łiwahali, 'Don't do that. They might be of use to you in picking up spoons or something of that sort.' The Łiwahali persisted in their determination, however, until the Tukabahchee said, 'If you destroy them, you will have me on your back,' when they gave it up."

This story was perhaps evolved to express or explain the friendship which grew up between Tukabahchee and Atasi. In later times the former called the Atasi, "the carers of our medicine."

Another set of myths deals with the ancient town of Coosa and its offspring, although the latter are mentioned but seldom, the myth usually confining itself to a mere account of the origin of the mother town and an explanation of its name. One of these stories has been given already in the Tulsa migration legend.[46] Another informant said that Coosa was called Talokŝû'mgi ("Town-lost-in-the water") by the Creeks, and that it had sunk into the water until nothing could be seen of it except the ball post. According to still another, the town was swallowed up by an earthquake. Two persons escaped by jumping into Coosa River and swimming to land. When they were found by people from other towns they were making little bows.

[46] See p. 55.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173 539 619

The place where this happened is said to be called "the rocky sunken place in the Coosa River." Owing to "some powerful attraction" no birds could cross at that point except one called the koskosa, and from this fact both river and town obtained their name. The last circumstance was also known to Jackson Lewis. A story related to the above was told by a Nuyaka Indian and is to the effect that the Coosa were a people found in the river of that name in vessels—which must have been canoes—carrying white flags at either end. They were taken out and made into a town by the Hickory Ground (Otciapofa) people who protected them. Therefore they came to be considered as the offspring of Hickory Ground.

173 539

The longest and best version which I myself obtained was related by an old man of Hilibi named Woksi miko and runs thus:

"An unmarried woman in the town of Coosa (Kosa or Koza) went to draw water from the spring and was afterward found to be pregnant. When her child was born it was spotted. Then her brothers and some of her relatives thought this was the offspring of a water tiger (wi katca), which the Muskogee now identify with the leopard, became angry with her, and wanted to kill it. But she had some old relatives who opposed them and finally prevailed. The busk ground and 'hot house' where they councilled about this stood near the river, and the girl ran to the water tiger and said 'There is an effort being made to kill my child, but they have not killed it yet.' Then the water tiger said 'Let those who are disposed to defend the child move away from the rest.' The woman told these what the water tiger had said, so they moved away from the town, and that night the water tiger brought on a great inundation which covered Coosa, with its square ground and all, but for years after people could see there the main timbers that braced the old tcokofa. The water tiger took the woman home to live with him. Then the few persons who were left alive came together and said 'We were once a great town but now there are very, very few of us and we are ashamed of having fallen off so in numbers (istà'kosi). Nevertheless let us get together and make another town for ourselves,' and they did so, establishing the town we now know as Tulsa (istalsosi).[483] Those who were engulfed in the river did not all die, and afterward people could hear a drum beaten there when they were dancing and having their good times. There is now a whirlpool on the site of the old town and close to the river. Sometimes people used to see beams whirling round in this eddy, and occasionally men sitting upon them. No bird could fly over the whirlpool, and those which tried always fell into the center of it and were drowned. But there is a small bird with a yellow breast which seems to say 'koakoza' and this could fly across

[483] The first word seems to be a contraction of istî ilaakosi, "many people ashamed," while the second is istî alosi, "one (or a few) ashamed." The first is a pun on Kosa; the second on Tulsa.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173
539

with perfect ease. Some maintained that the people beneath the water favored these birds and let them fly across. We name them from the noise which they make."

A version, differing from all of the above in certain particulars, was recorded by the late G. W. Grayson from Caley Proctor, one of the leading "reactionaries" among the Creeks at the present time, and I insert it here through the courtesy of the Grayson family:

"Cosa, according to this legend, was the original name of the Muscogees, two of whom, at a very early day, went away from home on a hunting expedition in the wild woods as was the habit of the people in those times. Having gone as far as they cared to travel the first day, they encamped near a stream of water. Near their camp stood a large tree, from a certain part of which the men noticed that drops of water occasionally fell. Regarding this as a rather strange phenomenon, one of the men determined to investigate it, and he climbed the tree to ascertain the cause, while his companion awaited the result below. He found the tree to be hollow at a certain point, containing a considerable quantity of water collected therein from rainfall, from which descended the drops of water they had observed. In this water were a number of fishes. With his hands he caught some of these which he brought down, cooked and ate against the protests of his companion, who said, 'We have always been counseled not to undertake to do anything unusual without the advice or consent of persons older than we and of greater experience, and I think you should not eat the fishes taken in so strange a manner lest something terrible befall you.' But the young man could not undo his rash act, and soon its effects began to show clearly; in a little while, that same evening, his human head and face changed into the head of an immense snake, while his arms and legs also changed, completing his metamorphosis into a large serpent of horrible appearance.

"Next morning he bewailed his plight to his companion, saying: 'You in all friendliness advised me not to eat of the fishes lest evil befall me, but, not regarding your friendly caution, I ate them and am now suffering the consequences of my obstinacy. Go now and inform my parents of my plight, tell them how it came about, and say to them, if they desire to see me, to come here. I will be in the creek near by. When they come let them discharge a gun as a signal of their arrival and I shall come out of the water to meet them.'

"So saying he entered the waters of the creek and disappeared, leaving his friend alone in camp. The latter thereupon returned to the town of Cosa, and to the parents and relatives of the now metamorphosed man he related all that had occurred and told how he had been deputed by his unfortunate friend to relate the story of his mishap and how they might once more see him if they desired.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNH Creek NNH

•173
539

"The parents and relatives and all others who had heard the story were greatly concerned and, assembling in full force, repaired at once to the place indicated where they discharged the gun as their friend had directed. On hearing this signal the snake man came forth from the creek and stretched himself affectionately across the laps of his parents as they sat in the midst of the assemblage. Upon this they gave way to their grief and set up a great *wahketa*,[48c] expressive of sorrow for the loss of their son. The monster said sadly: 'You see me in this pitiable condition, the circumstances of which have, I presume, been explained to you so that you understand how it came about. I now suggest that my relatives and friends return to their homes and on the fourth day from the present gather at the Tcook-u'-thlocco ("Big House"—i. e., the Square Ground) where I will meet them later.' Saying this, the snake-man returned to the water and his relatives and friends went back to their homes.

"On the fourth day the relatives and friends of the snake-man gathered at the Tcook-u'-thlocco, as had been requested, and many others came near but remained on the outside. Presently the snake-man made his appearance, coming from the stream in which he had taken refuge, and he was followed by a stream of water. When he entered the grounds occupied by the public buildings they all sank, along with the people gathered there, and this was the origin of Coosa River.

"Those who did not enter the Square Grounds with the friends and relatives of the snake-man were not destroyed, but gathered themselves together and became what was subsequently known as Cosa town, the members calling themselves Cos-is-tuggees, 'people of the Cosa town,' though the name is more properly Cos-ulgee. The residue of the Cosa people, having thus formed a town, bitterly lamented on account of the calamity that had thus robbed them of so many of their valuable citizens. In grievous distress they cried out, 'Woe is our nation! We were the greatest of all the nations; our *tus-e-ki-yas* were numerous, reaching out and known and dreaded the world over. But it is not so now. We have lost even our *Tcook-u' thlocco*, and a great number of our common people and great is the humiliation that has fallen on us. Shame and humiliation is now our portion. We can occupy only the place of the *e-yas-ke* (the humble, lowly, weak, unpretending).' The Cosas indulged in other similar jeremiads and changed their name to Tulsee, *ulsee* signifying in the Muscogee language 'to be ashamed,' 'bashful,' while from it may be derived *ul is ke ta*, 'shame,' 'disgrace,' but how the letter *t* could have become prefixed to *ulsee* is neither explained nor conjectured."

[48c] Wahketa, a lamentation for the dead.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173 [538]

The supposed derivation of the name Tulsa is, of course, fanciful. The story of the man turned into a serpent is well known among the southeastern Indians and I have several versions of it, but this is the only one in which it appears as explanatory of an historical event or social custom.

Legus Perryman and other informants told me that Kos istâgi is the old name of the Tulsa people; that it was used frequently in speeches on the busk ground; and that names beginning with Kos were common among them. One informant stated that the term was applied, not to the entire people, but to one of the two moieties, perhaps the Whites. The same terms were used by the Okfuskee, and, although some informants knew nothing of a connection between these towns, it is practically certain.

There is a story, the origin of which I do not know, to the effect that the Tulsa were once captured by the Tukabahchee.

Of course the native explanations of the names Coosa, Tulsa, and so on are the results of later reasoning. I met with two interesting cases of this linguistic phenomenon in which the English language was haled in to give point to the story. One affirms that there was once a great feast at which the Coweta Indians consumed so much more than any body else that they came to be called "Cow eaters." The other amounts to a myth built up to explain the name Eufaula and was related by as competent an authority as Jackson Lewis.

"In very early times the Eaufaula lived on one side of a certain stream and some Choctaw, with whom they were at war, lived on the opposite side which had a high bank. Every now and then a party from each would creep over to the other side, take a scalp, and, after their return, celebrate the event in the usual manner. Finally the Eufaula formed two bands of warriors which crept around back of the Choctaw town, one on each side, made an attack upon it and drove its occupants over the bluff, compelling them to jump into the water. From this circumstance that place came to be called "Where the people jumped down in" (isti aktaski) or "Where the people fell down in" (isti aklatki), and the Eufaula are said to have gotten their name from that circumstance. These names do not resemble the term Eufaula, but it is thought that that term is an English translation of them."

173 539

The French memoir which I have assigned conjecturally to about the year 1755 contains the following curious story purporting to be the origin myth of the Creek Indians, or at least of that part of them living on Tallapoosa River. As it seems to emanate from Fort Toulouse, perhaps it should be still further restricted to the Alabama-speaking Indians about that place. The apparent European elements which it contains—for instance, the production of human beings from

82517°—28——6

1 [Cf. cat. 114, p. 72--Analyst]

l: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173
539

stones reminiscent of the Greek story of Deucalion and Pyhrra and the objective illustration of the "in union there is strength" aphorism—render it doubtful how much we should credit to a purely Indian origin. At any rate it stands apart from all the stories above reported.

"They pretend that their first father having escaped with two male children from a universal deluge, for they all declare that there was one, went to consult the oracle. This told him to ascend a designated mountain covered with stones, some white and others black, collect as many of both kinds as he could before sunset, he and his two children, and carry them over their lands, and the next day they would find as many men and women as they had carried stones; and that one of his little sons would become chief of a great nation made up of the fragments of many others, rendered fugitives by wars. The truth of the prediction of the oracle was demonstrated next day by the number of men and women they saw around their cabins, of whom they formed many villages. The good father finding himself on his deathbed, exhorted his children to live in a firm union; he had a bundle of canes brought which, having fastened together, he told them to break, which they could not do. But having detached these canes and given them out one after the other they broke them easily. Upon this he told them that so long as they were united, their enemies would not be able to destroy them, but they must take care not to separate, or they would infallibly fall into slavery. While these things were taking place there arrived a beautiful Indian woman, almost white, who by her fine face and noble bearing showed that she was not of the lowest rank. She told them that she had come from a distance, that she had left her village when it was on the point of falling into the hands of enemies, and asked of them an asylum. This they generously granted, so much the more willingly as she began to move the affections of the eldest son very deeply. The father on his side encouraged his son to take her as his wife and had the pleasure of seeing her become his daughter-in-law before he died. But scarcely had he closed his eyes when the other brother, jealous of the possession of such a beautiful wife by his brother, disputed with him over the leadership, and raised a part of the people who were in his interest. A war followed in which the elder brother was killed. Immediately after his death a white bear made its appearance. As there were only black bears in that country, this appeared astonishing. This bear was followed by a number of black bears, which waged a cruel combat against the white bear in the presence of the people, but it remained victor after causing a general carnage among the black bears, and disappeared immediately. When everyone had recovered from his astonishment, the victorious brother went to find his sister-in-law but he could not discover her

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

anywhere, and it was in vain that he sent parties here and there to search for her. After useless investigations, they believed that it was this beautiful woman who had been killed in the battle and had assumed the body of a white bear, and that the struggle signified their approaching slavery.

"In regard to the oracle of which I have just spoken, they say that between three mountains which make a tripod is a valley, very deep, dark, and inaccessible because the sides are perpendicular, into which if one fell he could climb up again only by means of ropes; that below is seen shining something like a burning torch, and it is there where the one who knows the secret goes for the oracle, for in the nation there is only one man and his wife who know it. There are two, they say, for fear lest if there were but one and he happened to die suddenly or in war, the secret would be lost. I heard the story of that secret place where the three mountains are from a French officer, a friend of mine and commandant of the Alabama post. Having heard it spoken of, he thought the appearance must be occasioned by precious stones at the base of these mountains; perhaps, said he, a carbuncle. With this thought in mind he wanted to try to discover the secret. He ordered the interpreter to bring before him one of the two guardians of the secret. By chance it was the woman whom he brought, having found her first; and, knowing well that they love brandy as much as their husbands do, the commandant got her intoxicated. But he found her very different from European women, for he was not able to draw from her any information, since she preferred to die rather than make it known. She added that, if she told him, she would not be able to escape; the oracle would cause her death, and, after death, instead of passing into the body of some fine animal as she expected, it would make her enter the body of a crocodile (alligator), the usual punishment in the other world for those who have misbehaved in this. They believe in transmigration. There are even certain nations which will by no means eat of some animals for fear of eating their relatives or friends, for each nation has its especial animal into the body of which it must enter after death."

The First Meeting Between the Creeks and the White People

This event, of such great, if also tragic, interest to the Indians, is the subject of a number of stories. One of these has already been given, and there are several more of similar type. Kasihta yahola, an Indian of the Laplako town, had heard that the Americans were formerly out upon the ocean and at first the Muskogee would not let them land, but finally they relented, and a prophecy arose at that time to the effect that the Indians would ultimately be dis-

[Cf. cat 11, p. 74 -- Analyst]

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173 177 609 648

possessed by these newcomers. Another informant said that the Indians were believed to have come out of the earth, and therefore they own it and are to go back into it. The white people, on the other hand, were created later out of the foam of the sea. They first begged to put one foot on shore to rest themselves a little, and the Indians consented, but afterward the newcomers complained that it was tiresome to stand on but one foot and they asked to be allowed to set the other ashore. This also was granted. Next, the whites wanted to buy from the Indians as much land as could be covered with a hide, and when the Indians agreed they cut the hide into strips and made it surround a large area. In this way the Indians were gradually dispossessed. The Indians were also given a prophecy at that time to the effect that the whites would come and preach to them and the preaching would move westward.

Here we have the famous "cowhide purchase" myth, which dates back as far at least as Virgil, reinjected into Indian thought, apparently from a modern schoolbook. The most remarkable interweaving of schoolbook and other latter-day elements into a kind of Indian neo-philosophy is, however, the following from a decidedly reactionary Creek of Hilibi town:

"When Columbus reached America the first thing he saw was an eagle with a bunch of arrows in one claw and some leaves in the other. The arrows had been shot by the Indians and the eagle had caught them. Then Columbus and his people landed, but, being at first unable to open communication with the natives on account of their shyness, they resorted to a stratagem. They set a barrel of whisky ashore, laid a cane by it, and then withdrew. Afterward the Indians found the barrel and got drunk so that the white people were enabled to capture one of them. The rest managed to get away. They took the man they had captured and taught him "English" and through him they gradually became acquainted with the rest. Then they began to make treaties. To illustrate the gradual encroachments of the newcomers and how they dispossessed the Indians the following parable is told. Seventy Indian chiefs sat on a log which had fallen toward the west, and every time the whites came to make a treaty with them they would move up on it a little. They kept hitching up until at last the end man was shoved off. Then he said: 'There it is. I told you that is what you would do with me.' The white people induced them to make a treaty granting them as much ground as could be covered with a cowhide, and afterward they cut the hide into strips and treated them in the way already related. More white people kept coming and trouble arose, so that part had to go back. The remainder, however, promised that they would treat the Indians right as long as the streams ran and the water lasted."

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

This curious mixture contains an attempt to explain the eagle on our national seal, and includes a version of the "cowhide purchase," reference to the American Revolution, a story said to be drawn from the life of Tecumseh, and the treaty by which the Creeks were deeded their lands west of the Mississippi. The episode of the whisky barrel—which of course could not have been a whisky barrel—gives significant prominence to a potent source of Indian misfortunes. An old Tukabahchee informant had the following to say:

"It was predicted by the great Ruler that the Creeks were to be at the doorway of this continent and that the white people were to come there and treat with them. And the coming of the white people was in this manner. The Indians, looking out upon the ocean, thought that they saw a duck floating there. It came nearer and nearer and proved to be a boat. When the Indians saw people get out of this boat they became frightened and ran away to hide behind trees from which they could watch the strangers. Then they saw the strangers bring some barrels ashore and drink from them. Afterward the whites withdrew to a distance and the Indians came to the barrels to examine them. Finding that the stuff which they contained had a pleasant odor they drank some of it and became tipsy. Then the white people ran forward and tried to capture them but they got only one. The others called to them to bring their companion back but they would not let him go until he had learned to speak their language. Then they sent him back to them and he told them that the strangers talked fair but wanted land. For a time the Indians refused to sell any, but the whites were so insistent that the ninety native chiefs finally agreed to treat with them and let them have some. The word given to the Indians by the white people at that time was 'I will be the father of your tribes,' and consequently the Indians call a white man 'white father.' "

Some amusing things are told of the uses to which these primitive Indians put the articles which the white people gave them. On receiving some flour, for instance, they mistook it for white paint and painted their bodies with it.

Prophecies Regarding the Fate of the Indians

Besides the very general prophecies regarding their fate which contact with the whites naturally brought out, there were prophecies which seem to have belonged in part at least to the original body of myth of the tribe. As we have seen, one informant supposes that the Indians having come out of the earth will go down into it again, which indeed happens with each individual's body at death. According to another man this disappearance was to take place just where their emergence had occurred, at "the navel of the world." Preceding this "the busk would begin to suffer from neglect, the people refuse

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

9. Okchaiyutci, Koasati, Kan-tcati, Tawasa, Pawokti, and Atauga.

Hawkins states that the first five classes consisted of Red towns, and 6 and 8 of White towns. The words with which he introduces classes 6 to 9 would lead one to expect that 7 and 9 were White towns also and in fact such was the case if we assume the supposed recent change in Alabama. On the other hand, class 8, which is said specifically to have consisted of White towns, contains one, Atasi, now reckoned as Red, and two, Fus-hatchee and Kolomi, of doubtful affiliations but which there are reasons for supposing to have been Red also. At least we should not expect to find them opposed to Kan-hatki, as here given. The classification of some of the Red towns also presents difficulties. The two towns in group 2 are still classed as Red towns, and none of those in group 5 is known to have been White, although this might have been suspected of Kan-hatki and also of Muklasa, supposing that Muklasa was an Alabama settlement. On the other hand, all of those towns in class 1 regarding which we have a record are now White, as are Wakokai and Potcas hatchee in class 3 and Abihkutci in class 4, while Adair so describes Coosa. We should suppose Natchez to have been of one "fire" with the intimate friends of its people, the Abihka, but have no means of knowing the status of Eufaula hatchee, nor of Opillāko in class 1. Pakan tallahassee and the Okchai towns have been White within the memory of all living Creek Indians, yet Adair introduces a puzzle by speaking in one place of "the Okchai war town."[22] In brief, it does not seem as though much reliance can be placed on Hawkins's classification.

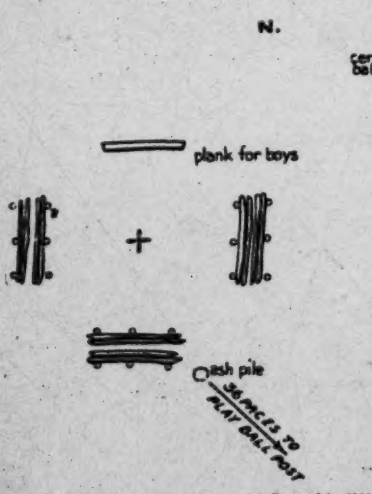

FIG. 60.—Hilibi Ceremonial Ground in 1912

EVOLUTION OF THE CREEK CONFEDERACY

Any discussion of the probable origin and evolution of the Creek confederacy must carefully distinguish between the native conception regarding its origin and evolution and the thing itself; between the psychological construction and the actual facts.

[22] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 262.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NNU Creek NNU
Muskogee

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Our knowledge of the former is limited, however, by the fragmentary condition of the origin legends, and our ability to interpret the latter is also seriously hampered by the disappearance of much of the data necessary to a proper understanding of them. In the best preserved migration legends, which are from the Lower Creeks and indeed from the single town of Kasihta, we find that the names

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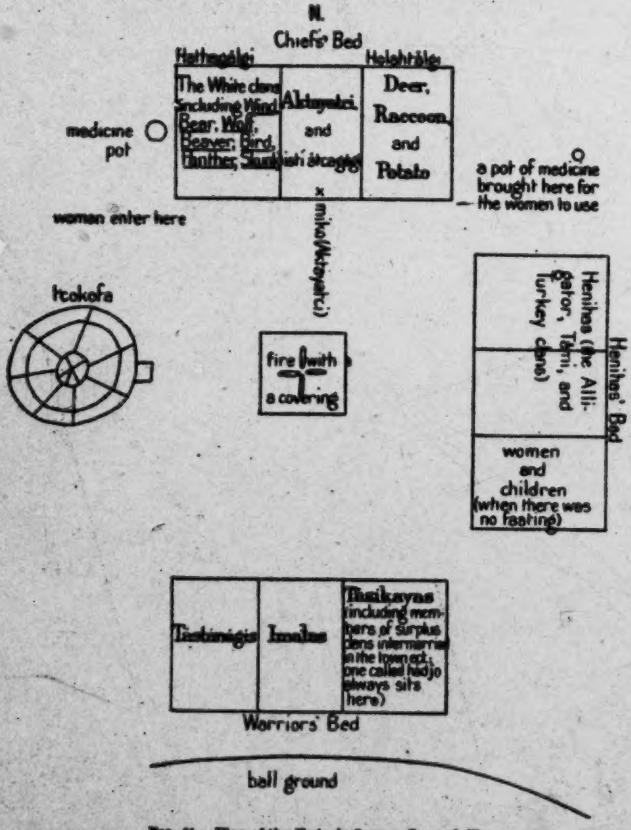

FIG. 61.—Plan of the Eufaula Square Ground (I)

of the Coweta, Kasihta, and Chickasaw are constantly associated. The Chickasaw certainly had a distinct origin, and are evidently introduced because they were friends of the Kasihta and were considered to belong to the same fire clan as that tribe; that is, "Chickasaw" was reckoned as a "White town." It is also worthy of note that in the very earliest version the Coweta are not mentioned until after the immigrants had reached Georgia, where it is implied that

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

173
642

the Kasihta separated into two parts, the Kasihta and Coweta. It is also to be noted that the Abihka are sometimes added, though in the Hawkins version the Abihka are said to have been encountered on Coosa River. The Alabama are mentioned once, and then perhaps merely to make out the formula number four. It seems evident from these stories that the Kasihta and Coweta were always considered

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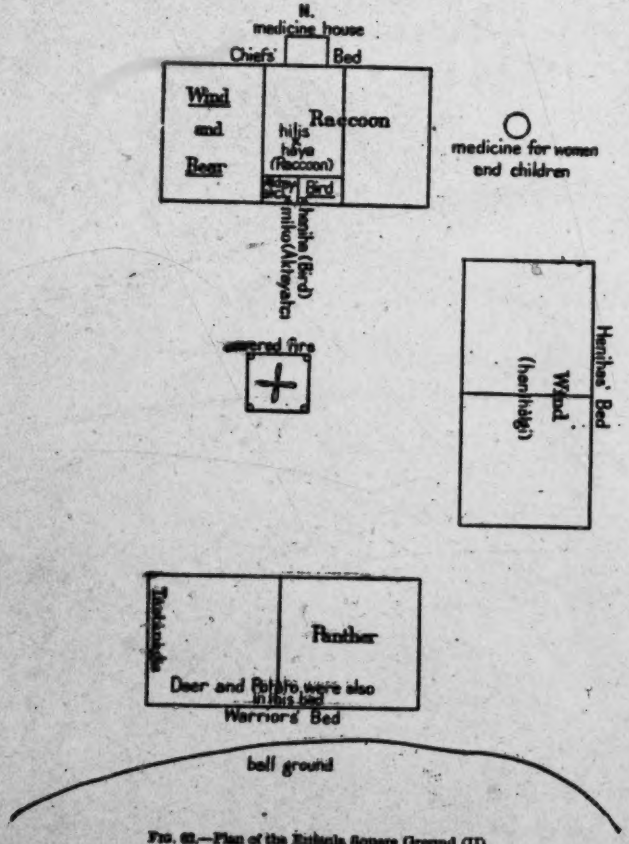

FIG. 62.—Plan of the Eufaula Square Ground (II)

closely related. Their connection with the Abihka is more remote, but it is interesting to find it recognized as closer than their connection with the Coosa. The Coosa appear only in the Chekilli narrative as a people encountered by the Kasihta and their allies on their journey eastward. In confirmation of this we find that in the Tulsa narrative, and in that of Milfort, the two which probably represent the Coosa story, the Kasihta and Coweta are not mentioned; indeed

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNIl Creek NNIl
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no tribe is except the Coosa and its later divisions. If we consider the traditions by themselves, then, we seem to find that one body of Muskogee came from the west and subsequently divided into two parts which came to be known as Kasihta and Coweta, and that they were early associated with another tribe, probably also Muskhogean, the Abihka. The Coosa, on the other hand, came from the west independently, and had no subdivisions until much later. The explanation of the two divisions of towns or "fires" is given in Judge Gregory's story, and there is reason to believe that they did actually originate with the division of the easternmost band of Creeks into Kasihta and Coweta, although the specific account of it is, of course, entirely mythic. This now seems plausible because, in the first place, these two towns are the only pair seemingly sprung from one stem, which are conspicuously set over against each other as leaders of the opposing sides, there being no such pairing of the Upper Creek leading towns. Moreover, Bartram records a traditional belief that the Creek confederacy had originated at the old town of Okmulgee on the river of that name—i. e., among the Lower Creeks. The later Okmulgee town was a Hitchiti settlement, but Muskogee lived along Ocmulgee River at an early date. In De Soto's time the people of Cofitachequi, which we have identified as Kasihta, knew Coosa well, and it is not improbable that the basis of the confederacy had already been laid. It is likely that it was in existence before the Tukabahchee united with the other towns, in spite of the later prominence of the former and in spite of the fact that some Creeks will tell you that the busk fire originated with the Tukabahchee and was by them distributed to the rest.

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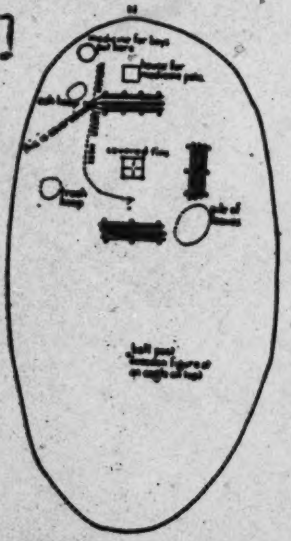

FIG. 62.—Eufaula Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Woodward says it was a matter of dispute among the Creeks whether Kasihta or Tukabahchee was settled first, but it was generally conceded that Kasihta was first settled.[35] Unfortunately we have no record, mythic or otherwise, as to how the friendship between Kasihta, Abihka, and Coosa grew up other than the references in the stories already given, and these do not explain why the friendship was between Abihka, Coosa, and Kasihta, rather than Abihka,

[35] Woodward, Reminiscences, p. 22.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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173
642

Coosa, and Coweta. The oldest Upper Creek town on the Red side was probaby Łiwahali, but we do not know what its ancient relations were with Kasihta and Coweta. As between Coweta and Tukabahchee, we have some inkling of the mythic foundation for the friendship existing between them, in myths already given, and it is noteworthy that, if we take the testimony of a Tulsa Indian—which should have been comparatively unbiased—as well as that which may be derived from historical sources, Coweta was then the more important. The myths also tell us something of the relations between Łiwahali, Atasi, and Tukabahchee, but it is probable that

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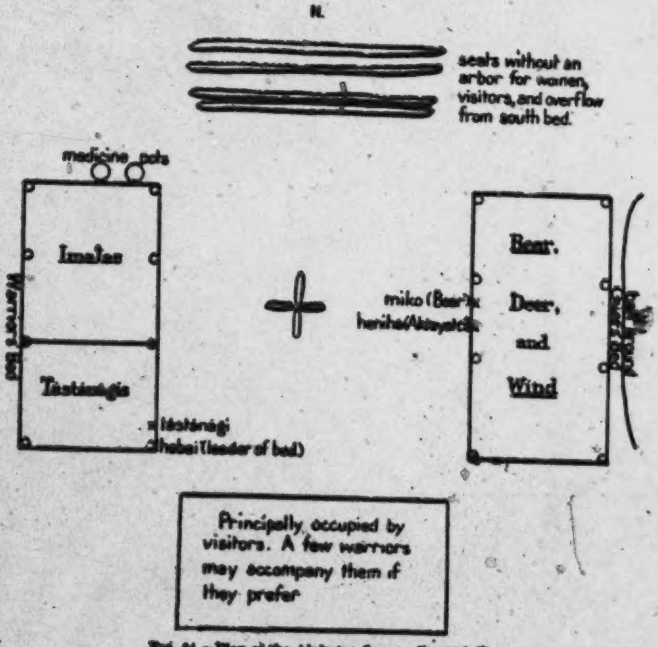

FIG. 84.—Plan of the Alabama Square Ground (I)

the first was already a friend of Coweta, Łiwahali having been long settled in the Upper Creek country.[24] From the scraps of information we can gather it would appear that Hilibi and Eufaula had once been situated farther east, and they may have been Red towns from early times. Altogether, it appears that the Red towns were fewer and mutually more independent than the White towns. With the exception of Coweta and its branch Łikatcha, the two Eufaulas, Upper and Lower, and probably Tukabahchee, Atasi, Kealedji, and Hatchee tcaba, the Red towns do not fall into well marked family

[24] Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 254-255.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNII Creek NNII
Muskogee

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groups. And with the exception of Tukabáhchee and its associates, which, although later comers, were probably Muskogee in speech, there were few towns on this side of alien blood. The only certain exceptions, in fact, were Chiaha and Osochi. The former, in some way or other, had early entered upon terms of the greatest intimacy

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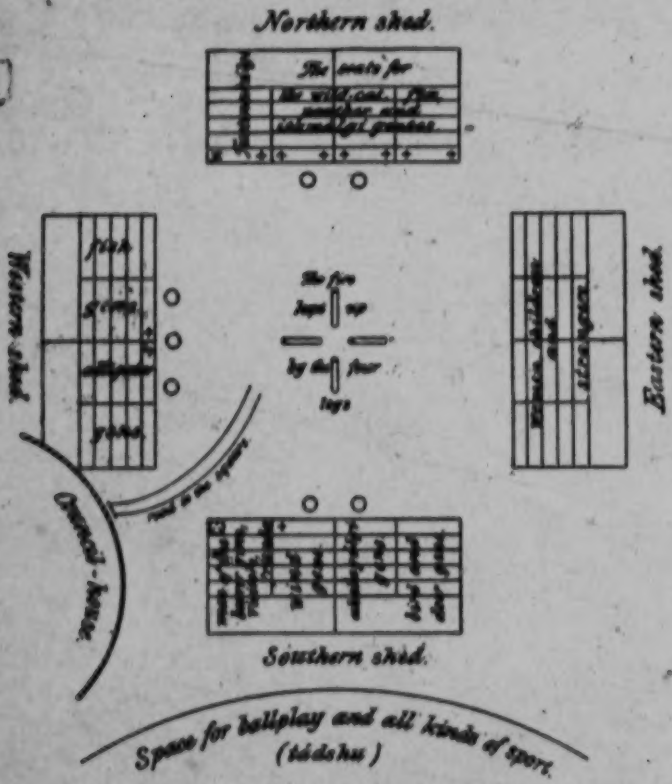

FIG. 48.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (from Gatschet)

with Coweta, and it is probable that the Osochi had come into the same relation by first entering upon terms of friendship with the Chiaha. This substantiates a statement of one of my informants that "most of the foreign towns were taken in upon the White side" because it was the side which made a business of peacemaking. In late years the Alabama have joined the Red towns, but this, as we have seen,[a] was probably due to a difference with the Okchai with

[a] See p. 264.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

whom they had temporarily united. With Kasihta there came to be associated all of the Hitchiti-speaking towns—except Chiaha and Osochi—the Yuchi, and even the Chickasaw, while among the Upper Creeks, the Okchai, Tuskegee, Koasati, and—originally—the Alabama were White. To these the Pakan tallahassee should perhaps be added. The number of White towns was also augmented by the splitting up of Coosa into Okfuskee and its branches, Otciapofa and

FIG. 70.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (III)

the Tulsa towns, while it is probable that the Wakokai towns came from these or from the Abihka.

Along with the introduction of foreign elements we should look for greater clan complexity, and this, as has already been indicated, we seem to find. Of course, the appearance and disappearance of clans need have nothing to do with outside elements, but where we observe an association between certain clans and such elements the suggestion that the association is more than accidental naturally arises. In any event such associations are worth noting for their

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNH Creek NNH

As soon as the old men had delivered them they disappeared, returning to the sky. According to Tál mutcási, the medicine maker of Asilanábi and Łálogálga, seven selected men were putting the four logs together to make a foundation, and, as they were making the foundation, "there was a fire built" and it was said of the four main sticks: "They shall be the white path. There shall be peace and harmony." At this time were established the laws by which the people were to be ruled. They were also given the medicine roots and were told "This shall be your medicine. This shall be respected and appreciated as long as time lasts."

Still another story is from Sanger Beaver, a Tcatoksofka Indian. He had heard that in ancient times the people were continually fighting, scalping, and killing, were without law, and went about nearly naked, clothed only in the skin breechclout. A certain man among them meditated much on this troublesome way of living. He fasted and thought for a long time, and finally he declared that he had received "the white day" (ni'ta hátki). This had been given to man through him by Ibofánga along with the miko hoyanidja, the pasa, the sawátcka, and the ási, and songs for each medicine. These were, to quote the language of this anonymous person, "for the building up of our future generations, to make grow up the women and the children." Having said this he started the fire of the confederacy by using four sticks of wood, and the other Indian tribes came there and obtained their fires from the one kindled by that old Indian. For this reason the Creeks claimed to be the originators of all of the national fires of the various Indian nations. Beaver added the important information that most of this story is contained in a kind of song that had been handed down from the old Indian that received the "white day." There is, of course, very much more to the story, but he did not know the rest. From such an origin grew the customs and practices of the busk, and it is said that the tribe was instructed that so long as it adhered to the use of these medicines, customs, etc., it would grow strong, but if at any time they became lax in attending to them they would grow weak and perish. The busk and the stomp dances which preceded it were all for the sake of the tribal health.

Many of the Indians claim that the first busk fire was built in the town of Tukabahchee and that all of the other towns derived their fire from that source, but I have shown elsewhere that this is a later explanation. It is admitted, nevertheless, by nearly all of the other Upper Creek towns. By some, all of their laws and regulations are traced to the Ispokogis and presumably the busk fires also. It is also said that when the Shawnee came east into the country of the Creeks they found that the stomp ground and the busk were not quite "right" and they remodeled them. Then they returned to

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

their home in the west and one town followed them. This may indicate nothing more than the high regard in which the Shawnee were held. Certain innovations in the busk procedure may have been due to them, but to prove it we must wait for a study of Shawnee ceremonials.

The story of Sanger Beaver probably represents very well the psychological attitude of the Indians toward their great ceremonial and epitomizes their opinion of its place in their lives even though it may not have the slightest basis in fact. The busk with its fire, its medicines, and its ceremonial was a great unifying element between the several members of the Creek confederacy, all the tribes which united with it either adopting such a ceremonial or altering their own to agree with it. And further than that it was a special unifying institution within each town, bringing all together for a definite purpose in which the good of each and the good of all were bound up. All transgressions, except some forms of murder, were then forgiven, all disturbances adjusted, and thus the unity and peace of the state reestablished. As with so many reputed founders of civilized states in the Old World, and as in the case of Hiawatha among the Iroquois, a primeval age of barbarism and warfare is put an end to by a lawgiver acting as the medium of supernatural agents, or possessing great supernatural power. The object of his labors is law, order, and peace. Thus the busk is supposed to be a great peace ceremonial, "the white day," the square ground is considered "the yard of peace," white feathers are used there, and its white smoke is intended to reach the sky. The White clans and Tcilokis were to play peaceably in the ball game and the side which won was to take both bunches of feathers. When a council of any kind was held, pipes were lighted and smoked, and the smoke ascending from them was called "the white smoke." As Swan tells us, the native name of the sacred medicine called "black drink" by the whites is really "the white drink." It is now claimed that the four foundation sticks of the fire depict the junction lines of "the white treaty" with the United States Government, and an old Tukabahchee Creek said that the White people promised to be on the north end of the north back stick of the busk fire. This interpretation, however, has evidently superseded an earlier one in which the Creek confederacy as represented by its four leading towns, Coweta, Kasihta, Tukabahchee, and Abihka, was symbolized by the fire sticks. The fact that the beds of the miko and henihas are often spoken of as white and were usually occupied by White clans also shows the dominance of the idea of peace in the square ground and particularly the busk ceremonial held there. It is to be added that at the time of this ceremonial everyone must speak in a low, gentle tone of voice, if children begin to cry, they must be quieted at once without disturbance, and a general air of harmony must be preserved.

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

344 Wind were of the same "class." Under the present law they can all
621 marry outside of third cousins.
796 The Kăsihta defeated the Coweta three times in the ball game, the last time in 1878, and after that they took them under their jurisdiction and they have played on the same side.

Comparison of the plan of the new Kasihta with the plans of the earlier grounds secured by Gatschet and myself (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 266-268) shows that the old order has been fairly well maintained allowing for the disappearance of some clans, particularly the Fish clan. Incidentally I wish to correct an erroneous statement in my report in which I misquoted Gatschet to the effect that the Kasihta miko belonged to the Alligator clan. While the Alligator clan occupied half of the chiefs' cabin, the miko himself has always been taken from the Bear and was stated to have been so by Gatschet. The allocation of clans to the moieties by my recent informants contains a number of difficulties, for they seem to have placed the Bear among the Tciloki, which is unlikely, especially as it was said to belong to the same "class" as the Alligator and Wind. My own earlier authorities also classed the Beaver and Deer as Tciloki.

177 The following information will be interesting to those who wish
173 to study acculturation processes in intangibles. It was told me by the Indian considered best able to speak for the town,

> The original four cabins represented the New Jerusalem with its 12 gates. The busk goes back to the time when Jacob set up the altar at Bethel and is traced from him and his 12 sons. All of the Indians in America entered in two migrations, one at the time of Jacob (1500-2000 B. C.) and the second 600 years later, at the time when Jerusalem was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. Then they talked face to face with the Great Spirit because they were more obedient to God than any other tribe, but about 700 years after the Messiah they got away from the original law on account of desire for riches. Then they lost the old law and asked for a new government, and by holding a ceremony in mid-summer, in the month of July, it was given to them. That new law taught them to tell the truth and be honest with their fellowmen and to raise their children in such obedience, not to touch anything that did not belong to them, not to make a false statement. That is the law which we are trying to follow.

177 He added:
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> We have a hard time because the white men have failed to fulfill their part of the agreement. They have strong laws that we can't begin to understand and our customs are about choked out through grafters who claim to have bought the claims of the allottees on which our squares are located. In order to hold their grounds several towns have to pay rent year after year. If the law makers would cooperate with us and give us full privileges we would raise more substantial, law-abiding young men and young women. That was the custom and the wish of our forefathers.